A CYCLE OF AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL REFORM : GARFIELD AND BELLINGHAM HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON, 1958-1983

Kathleen A. Nuzum

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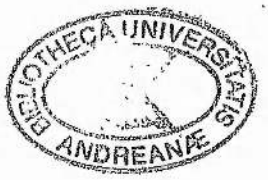
A Cycle of American Educational Reform: Garfield and Bellingham High Schools in the State of Washington, 1958-1983

by

Kathleen A. Nuzum



A thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D. in the School of History,
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Abstract

This thesis examines the educational experience from 1958 to 1983 in two Washington State high schools: Bellingham High School and Garfield High School, Seattle. It focuses on what happened to the structure, curriculum content and environment within these schools, and also discusses the process of centralisation in Washington State educational administration. The period of study was bounded by two reports: James Bryant Conant's *The American High School Today* (January 1959), and *A Nation at Risk* (issued in 1983) by the U.S. Secretary of Education, Terrell Bell, and the National Commission on Excellence in Education, reports which were issued in response to the Cold War and to growing international economic competition.

Conant and his generation of educators sought a system of secondary education that, by opening educational opportunities to all young Americans, would close the critical Soviet-US gap in missile and space technology, and would give the Cold War victory to the United States. However, national policies, state administration and socio-cultural change in American life all contributed to a shift in classroom emphasis away from traditional academics and measures of students achievement during the quarter-century after Conant - a condition made clear by the National Commission in 1983. Whatever the other values of these educational reforms, they had a negative effect on student attitudes towards academic achievement, resulting in a disengagement from all aspects of school life.

Despite cultural differences, the parallel institutional experiences of Bellingham and Garfield, and the similarities that emerged between the schools' administrative structures,

educational goals, teaching strategies and learning styles, imply that class was also an important factor shaping the educational experience in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s.

I, Kathleen Nuzum, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

2 March 2004

I was admitted as a research student in September 1999 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in September 1999; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1999 and 2004.

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Preface

Educational reform has always been a divisive issue of fundamental importance in the United States because of its implications for the political, social and economic dimensions of public life, together with its linkage of private and public experience. Everybody has been to school, and is therefore an authority on the subject! And, while American education has been characterised by alternating periods of conservative and progressive practices, the perception of a continuing crisis and the sense of a systemic failure of public schooling in the United States remains.[1] Criticism focuses on a catalogue of problems including size, social context, the declining academic standards in which I have been particularly interested, and economic constraints. While the debates have been strong on ideology and pedagogy, there are surprisingly few studies of individual schools which show what happened to the structure, curriculum content and environment of the comprehensive high school during the second half of the twentieth-century, and none that I am aware of which try to put them into a wider historical context.[2]

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[1] A bibliography of recent criticism would include David Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering Toward Utopia, A Century of Public School Reform* (Cambridge 1995); Norman H. Nie, *Education and Democratic Citizenship in America* (Chicago, 1996); Dickson A. Mungazi, *The Evolution of Educational Theory in the United States* (Westport, 1999); Andrew J. Coulson, *Market Education: The Unknown History* (New Brunswick, 1999); Diane Ravitch, *Left Back, A Century of Failed School Reform* (New York, 2000); William W. Cutler, *Parents and Schools: The 150-year struggle for control in American education* (Chicago, 2000); Maureen Stout, *The Feel-Good Curriculum, The Dumbing-Down of America's Kids in the Name of Self-Esteem* (Cambridge, 2000); J. Martin Rochester, *Class Warfare: Besieged schools, Bewildered parents, Betrayed kids and the Attack on Excellence* (San Francisco, 2002); Jennifer L. Hochschild and Nathan Scovronick, *The American Dream and the public schools* (New York, 2003); Merilee S. Grindle, *Despite the Odds: the Contentious politics of education reform* (Princeton, 2004).

[2] Among the few, the two I have found most useful have been Philip A. Cusick, *The Egalitarian Ideal and the American High School: Studies in Three Schools* (New York, 1983); and Gerald Grant, *The World We Created at Hamilton High* (Cambridge, 1988).

The chronology of this study is bounded by two reports: James Bryant Conant's *The American High School Today*, published in January 1959 and *A Nation at Risk*, a report issued in 1983 by the U.S. Secretary of Education, Terrell Bell and the National Commission on Excellence in Education. In 1983, as in 1959, America's educational deficits were prominent in the public press. Both the Conant Report and *A Nation at Risk* asserted a crucial link between education and America's international competitiveness. Inferior schooling was blamed for America losing the space race to the Soviets following the successful launch of Sputnik I in October 1957, and later for losing ground in the economic competition with Japan in the early 1980s. In an atmosphere of mounting international tensions and national self-flagellation, Americans were looking for ways to stem the apparent 'tide of mediocrity' that was perceived to have engulfed education in the United States following the Second World War. The Conant Report had seemed to represent a reassuring response to the crisis, offering 21 Recommendations for Improving Public Secondary Education. Conant regarded the large comprehensive high school as the optimal way of offering a wide range of courses efficiently and economically to a broad student population, offering both intellectual excellence to the academically talented and practical training to the vocationally inclined youth of America. In the words of *A Nation at Risk*, however, the comprehensive high school evolved into a rigid, ineffectual and destructive system of secondary education that offered students a programme that was 'homogenized, diluted and diffused'.[3]

My interest in these problems stems, in large part, from my own experiences. Educated in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, northern England, Seattle and Anacortes, Washington, I

[3] U.S. Department of Education, National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (Washington, D.C., 1983), p. 18.

attended secondary school on both sides of the Atlantic and in both urban and rural environments, gaining a variety of perspectives. I, like most Americans, graduated from a comprehensive high school. During the 1970s it required surprisingly little effort. And, bored with the slow pace and mundaneness of high school class work, whilst subjected to an environment that was alienating and often dangerous I, like many of my classmates, disengaged and chose merely to fill a seat and count credits until graduation day. Observation of my daughter's experience suggests that little has changed over the past twenty years.

This study takes some important aspects of the educational experience for granted, foremost among them many of the teacher's roles and organisations. This is because such questions have been well covered elsewhere, and I have been more interested in the structures within which they had to operate.[4] Nor have I dealt with the experiences which for many students made their school days memorable: sport, sex and socialising. While this would undoubtedly have made for more excitement I have tried to concentrate on what I feel is the primary function of school for the student - learning to learn.

In this study, therefore, I examine aspects of the educational experience from 1958 to 1983 in two Washington State high schools: Bellingham High School and Garfield High School, Seattle. While these schools are the same size (approximately 1,500-1,600 students) and both are considered comprehensive high schools, there are significant

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[4] For these other aspects see, for instance, Theodore R. Sizer and Nancy Faust Sizer, *The students are watching: Schools and the moral contract* (Boston, 1999); Martin J. Finkelstein, Robert K. Seal and Jack H. Schuster, *The new academic generation: A profession in transformation* (Baltimore, 1998); Eleanor Duckworth, ed., *'Tell me more': listening to learners explain* (New York, 2001); James Nolan, Jr., and Denise G. Meister, *Teachers and educational change: the lived experience of secondary school reconstructing* (Albany, 2000).

differences between them relating to the socio-economic makeup of the local communities, Seattle is a large city with a degree of economic, social, and racial diversity, while Bellingham is a predominantly white working class city that has experienced minimal growth over the last generation. However, what has emerged most strongly was the similarity of their administrative structures, educational goals, teaching strategies and learning styles, similarities that I think were more strongly related to class than to any other factor.

This thesis will argue that high school reforms from 1958 to 1983 were introduced in response to the Cold War. In an 'educational call to arms', James Conant and his generation of educators sought a system of secondary education based on meritocratic principles that, by opening educational opportunities to all young Americans, would close the critical Soviet-US gap in missile and space technology, thereby giving the Cold War victory to the United States. However, national policies, state administration and socio-cultural change in American life (much of which was shaped by the Cold War), all contributed to a shift in classroom emphasis away from traditional academics and measures of student achievement during the quarter-century after Conant - a condition made clear by the National Commission in 1983.

Historiographically, I am aware that much in the following pages may appear old-fashioned in approach and naïve in assumption. This is the only occasion on which the names of Foucault, Lacan, Derrida, or any other post-modern theorist will appear in this thesis because, while I accept that their perspectives may have much of value to say in the future about late twentieth-century American educational practice, I also believe that it is more appropriate to clear the ground, so to speak, using contemporary tools. The 1950s,

1960s and 1970s saw the publication of an unprecedented number of empirically based historical monographs that transformed and deepened our understanding of every aspect of American history. But the cost of this extraordinary accumulation of detailed knowledge was fragmentation, the loss of a sense of the whole.[5] This fragmentation, which was present in all the humanities at the levels of both discipline and content, was characteristic not only of universities as Louis Menand has argued[6], but also in the schools, as the following pages will show. It therefore provides the second justification for my historiographical stance. This study is an attempt at integration, by providing a historical context for a debate that has largely been conducted by professional educationists within schools of education.

This thesis rests on research in the Bellingham and Seattle School Districts. I would like to thank Dr. C.J. Smith and St. Andrews University officials for allowing special residence requirements, which gave me the opportunity to remain in the United States for extended periods. My research was greatly aided by the hard work and generosity of James Copher at the Washington State Archives, and Eleanor Toews and David Kennedy at the Seattle School District Archives. I would also like to acknowledge the support of Gordon Tweit, unofficial historian to Bellingham High School and Larry Stephan, a past principal of Bellingham High School who championed my cause when other backs were turned. However, having to fight for every scrap of research material at the Bellingham High School, the Bellingham Public School District Administrative Offices and the Western Washington University Woodring College of Education proved to be a rather

[5] See Carl N. Degler, 'Modern American Historiography', in Michael Bentley, ed., *Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), pp. 709-727, for the most useful recent discussion of these and related issues.
[6] Louis Menand, 'College: The End of the Golden Age', *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 16 (October 18, 2001), pp. 44-47.

unexpected challenge, and perhaps goes some way to explaining the lack of individual school case studies. The defensive and suspicious stance of individuals in response to my requests for public information is, with hindsight, indicative of the nature of public education and the level of contentiousness in the ongoing debate that surrounds educational reform in the United States. And, though Freedom of Information and Privacy legislation has undoubtedly had a liberating effect on the writing of the political history of the 1960s and 1970s, it has had perhaps an unfortunate impact upon the writing of educational history. While I might have been able to compensate for this by direct contact with former students, the 'Friends Reunited' websites that have blossomed came too late for my research to exploit them.

My thanks also go to Steve Spackman who helped refine my choice of topic and who has been a patient and sympathetic supervisor throughout the project. Special thanks are due to Elsie Johnstone and Joanna Schlesinger for their invaluable support and encouragement, without which this thesis would not exist.

Introduction

The American High School: Character, Curricula and Conant

According to David Carr, ' . . . the main task of education is to prepare young people for adult personal and social functioning: a little more precisely, to equip individuals with the knowledge, understanding and skills apt for a personally satisfying, socially responsible and economically productive life'.[1] Furthermore, all educational systems reflect the habits of thought and social values of the political and economic context in which they operate. The historical and cultural foundation of each society shapes a nation's pattern of educational development and change through time.[2] A brief look at two examples, France and Germany, will illustrate the point.

French education is highly centralised, secularised and hierarchical. This system of secondary education is based on a humanist tradition designed to impart *la culture generale*, a French intellectual heritage shaped by such thinkers as Descartes, Voltaire and Condorcet, placed within an essentially Napoleonic institutional framework.

Unlike France, the German system of education is decentralised and socially unilinear. The present-day educational system still shows evidence of the pre-unification states and principalities, as well as post-unification nationalistic patterns. Underlying both, the

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[1] David Carr, *Making Sense of Education, An Introduction to the Philosophy and Theory of Education and Teaching* (London, 2003), p. 7.

[2] The theme of social reproduction is discussed in: Bill Williamson, *Education, Social Structure and Development, A Comparative Analysis* (London, 1979); Nicholas Hans, *Comparative Education, A Study of Educational Factors and Traditions* (London, 1949); Fritz K. Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe* (Bloomington, 1979); Robert Ulich, *The Education of Nations, A Comparison in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, 1961).

German school still reflects the Hegelian conception 'that education should serve the higher goal of the state itself and not just the needs of the individual'.[3] As a consequence, the educational system is socially differentiated along occupational lines, with each individual trained for a particular position in life. *Bildung* in Germany, like *la culture generale* in France, has always been identified with the study of a classical liberal curriculum. The organisation and structure of the French and German school systems clearly reflect their respective historical backgrounds.

In a similar way, the American system of education reflects the heritage and character of the nation. Adlai Stevenson once said, 'the free common school system is the most American thing about America'.[4] Education in the United States has striven to embody the democratic ideal outlined in the *Declaration of Independence*, and the American Dream was a way of describing the hopes of the American immigrant who, freed from 'countries cluttered with rich cumbersome, aristocratic, ideological pasts', could now 'reach for what once seemed unattainable'.[5] Public schooling in America historically has provided a major step towards its attainment.

Given that educational systems reflect the character of the nation, the structure of American education reflects the nation's political system. Both are highly decentralised and rooted in the localities, the school district and the constituency. In both, the state has, historically, been the governmental unit of most immediate impact. And, just as there are only two nationally elected political offices, the presidency and vice-presidency, the only national educational institutions of importance are the military academies (West Point,

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[3] Williamson, *Education, Social Structure and Development*, p. 77.
[4] Bessie R. James and Mary Waterstreet, *Adlai's Almanac, The Wit and Wisdom of Stevenson of Illinois* (New York, 1952), p. 5.
[5] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image, or, What Happened to the American Dream* (New York, 1962), p. 239.

Annapolis, etc). In the course of the twentieth-century, the dominant trend in both the political and the educational system has been the vast expansion of federal power exercised through regulation and funding. Even so, the extent of local control still distinguishes American education from that in other democratic countries. The schools are managed by nearly 20,000 school boards, which are often elected quite separately from other local authorities; and direct public participation is intense, with individuals entitled to speak at board meetings and to take decisions on fund raising through local referenda, and sometimes also directly electing the state superintendent of education. All this makes American schools much more subject to community pressure than those in Europe.

In addition to the extent of local control, the other defining characteristic of American education is its universality. No other nation in the world has attempted to educate more of its youth at public expense, or for as long as the United States. Relative to the times, unprecedented numbers of young Americans have attended a publicly funded school. For almost two centuries, Americans have believed that the ordinary person is capable of acquiring the information and understanding needed to make reasoned judgments in both their private and public lives. However, the American system of mass education was born out of necessity. In eighteenth-century America, education in the United States was localised, short-term, selective in nature and fee based. The colonial approach to education focused on preparing an elite – access to education was largely dependent upon family wealth and initiative. By the 1840s, however, with industrialisation and urbanisation transforming the country, attitudes had shifted dramatically and, for the rest of the century, the pressure to assimilate and Americanise an increasingly diverse population fell upon the American public school system. Between 1815 and 1860, five million immigrants journeyed to America, a number that was greater 'than the entire

population of the United States at the time of the first census in 1790'.[6] An additional 14 million new immigrants arrived between 1860 and the end of the century.[7]

Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education between 1835-1848, and architect of the common school movement, approached the question with a two-pronged strategy. First, he set out to convince the business community to support educational reform on the basis that better educated workers would be more productive. Secondly, Mann sought to persuade workers to support universal education to help create greater awareness of social inequality. In two decades of hard fought debate, the American public or 'common' school system was created by the 1850s. Built and supported by local initiative, free common schools were open to all white children, were funded by local property taxes and governed by local lay school board committees. The goal of the state system of common schooling was to achieve cultural uniformity and social utility. From their inception, common schools also served as agencies of politicisation, particularly with respect to the organisation and function of the United States government, and the role and responsibility of the individual in a representative democracy.[8]

As a powerful source of immigrant assimilation, schooling was the primary agency through which common political and social values could be disseminated to children from

[6] Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration*, Second Edition (Chicago, 1992), p. 79.
[7] Desmond King, *Making Americans, Immigration, Race and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 293.
[8] Rush Welter argues that democrats supported the common school movement because of the need 'to find out how to harmonize the attitudes and judgment of ordinary men with the complex political necessities of modern life . . .'. Rush Welter, *Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America* (New York, 1962), p. 240. Efforts to Americanise immigrants were intensified during the First World War and the post-1918 years.

a varied set of religious, ethnic, economic and social backgrounds.[9] By teaching English, reading, arithmetic and the importance of cleanliness, hard work, perseverance, individualism and patriotism, public schools were to serve as 'effective academies of assimilation'.[10] The American 'melting pot' was believed to be 'a fusion of all elements in the population into a homogeneous mass'.[11] Public schools would take a leading role in the formation of a distinctly American consciousness. The belief that public education could alleviate, if not eliminate social problems was, and remains, a central tenet of public education in the United States, and Americanising immigrants has been one of its great successes.[12]

As the United States became more heavily industrialised, the demand for a citizenry with specific abilities, skills, knowledge and discipline increased. The required levels of literacy and numeracy demanded that students stay in school longer, a change that escalated high school enrolment. From 1890 to 1918 the number of students at high school increased from 310,000 to 2,253,000; the number of registered high schools

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[9] The other reaction to mass immigration was the development from the 1890s of the Immigration Restriction Movement, and in 1911 the Dillingham Commission asked Congress to place restrictions on immigration 'principally because of what is claimed to be the inassimilable character of recent immigrants,' specifically migrants from southern and eastern Europe who were thought to be 'intellectually inferior'. The Commission also endorsed the continued exclusion of Chinese labourers. Its recommendations, including national quotas, were embodied in the Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924. King, *Making Americans*, pp. 61-76.

[10] Daniel Calhoun, ed., *The Educating of Americans, A Documentary History* (Boston, 1969), p. 420; Alan M. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921* (Arlington Heights, 1982), p. 134. The link between education and Americanisation was recognised by immigrant Mary Antin who describes in her autobiography the joy her father felt on taking her, along with her brother and sister, to school for he knew, 'no surer way to their advancement and happiness than education'. As quoted in Kraut, *The Huddled Masses*, pp. 134-135. On the other hand, many immigrant communities looked upon public schools with skepticism, for they often represented an 'insidious back door to assimilation which lured the young from the ways of their parents'. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses,* p. 140.

[11] Oscar Handlin, *Immigration as a Factor in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, 1959), pp. 146-147.

[12] However, the 'same public school system employed to socialize and Americanize new immigrants failed African American children', a discrepancy that was underlined by a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1929 who stated, '[O]ur country boasts of her great free school system. There is no free school system in this country . . . in a state of the union where the black man constitutes thirty-nine per cent of the population he is given only one per cent of the appropriation for education and in a number of other states four times as much is spent for the education of a white child as is spent for a black child'. King, *Making Americans*, pp. 89-90. These issues underlie many of the problems discussed in Chapters 2 and 5.

increased from 2,526 to 13,951 during the same period.[13] By the end of the nineteenth-century, the dominant emphasis in public secondary education was becoming the development of marketable skills, and the high school had inherited from the apprenticeship system the task of training industrial workers.[14] Nevertheless, the Report of the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association, published in 1893, recommended that the public high school continue offering a predominantly liberal arts curriculum because, they argued, it was undemocratic to offer a differentiated programme of high school study. Under the chairmanship of President Eliot of Harvard University, the committee determined that every subject was to be made available to all students no matter 'what the probable destination of the pupil may be, or at what point his education is to cease'.[15] Differences in student ability and educational interests were to be accommodated not by lowering expectations, but by varying the time accorded to the core academic subjects. Equality of opportunity was an ideal that remained intact following the first onslaught of educational reform. Cultivating the mind through liberal studies was to retain, albeit briefly, a position of centrality in the American high school curriculum; and training individuals for their future career path remained an ancillary aim.

In 1890, only about seven percent of the eligible youth were enrolled in the nation's secondary schools. After 1890, the high school population doubled every ten years, driving educational reform to the forefront of public debate. In the absence of a national ministry of education or federal education policy, secondary schooling in the United States remained a communal effort, dependent upon local aspirations and initiative. Many

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[13] U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, Thomas D. Snyder, ed., *120 years of American Education: A Statistical Report,* Table 9, 'Enrolment in Regular Public and Private Schools 1869 to 1992' (Washington, D.C., 1993), p. 36.
[14] Lawrence A. Cremin, *Traditions of American Education* (New York, 1977), p. 103.
[15] Calhoun, *The Educating of Americans*, p. 480.

politicians, naturally responsive to the economic and social demands (often business-led) within their constituencies, were seeking to emulate the European model of secondary schooling in which academic and vocational subjects were offered by separate institutions of learning. Opposed to this movement were progressive educators, and in particular John Dewey.[16] Dewey argued that by segregating the academic and vocational subjects at the secondary school level, a social, cultural and economic divide would result in American society. Within a dual system of high school education, Dewey maintained that vocational training would eventually regress into a mere appendage of American business and industry, leaving traditional academic schools once again catering to America's privileged elite.[17] Progressive reformers, therefore, turned to the comprehensive high school as a major agency of social reform. The comprehensive high school would bring together under one roof the academic and vocational aspects of the high school curriculum. Students from widely varying backgrounds, aptitudes, capacities and educational interests would benefit from the 'constant personal association and from reciprocal stimulation' only available at a comprehensive school.[18]

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[16] Elements intrinsic to the progressive philosophy of education include such aspects as '1) *Respect for diversity*, meaning that each individual should be recognised for his or her own abilities, interests, ideas, needs, and cultural identity, and 2) The development of *critical, socially engaged intelligence*, which enables individuals to understand and participate effectively in the affairs of their community in a collaborative effort to achieve a common good'. *A Brief Overview of Progressive Education*, http://www.uvm.edu/~dewey/proged/html. These features are often labelled 'child-centred' and 'social reconstructionist'. According to Charles Silberman, the fundamental flaw of progressive education was the system's false dichotomy that the schools must be *either* child-centred *or* subject-centred. Silberman further noted that educators ignored Dewey's early warnings that the preoccupation with child-centredness would result in an absence of intellectual control which in Dewey's words, 'stimulates the deplorable egotism, cockiness, impertinence and disregard for the rights of others apparently considered by some persons to be the inevitable accompaniment, if not the essence, of freedom'. As cited in Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom, The Remaking of American Education* (New York, 1970), p. 180. Education was following the lead of progressive politics, which emphasised the dignity and worth of the individual through the passage of child labour laws, health and safety standards in industry, minimum wages and maximum hours, as well as the workmen's compensation programme.

[17] John Dewey, 'Splitting Up the School System', *New Republic*, Vol. II, No. 24 (17 April 1915), p. 283.

[18] Daniel Tanner, 'The Comprehensive High School in American Education', *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 39, No. 8 (May 1982), p. 610.

The influence of John Dewey's work is evident in a 32-page pamphlet published in 1918 by the United States Bureau of Education, *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. The report advised against a dual system of high school education and lent its full support for the establishment of a unified comprehensive school, with seven objectives: promotion of health, command of fundamental process, worthy home-membership, training for vocation, responsible citizenship, worthy use of leisure and understanding personal ethics.[19] Perhaps most surprising was the committee's recommendation of compulsory secondary schooling - all students should remain in school full-time until the age of eighteen. *Cardinal Principles* portrayed the comprehensive school as the prototype of democracy. Friendships forged between pupils across divisions of the curriculum would foster the development of social cooperation at the individual, school, community and national levels.[20] Furthermore, the comprehensive high school represented a model for 'democracy,' both being dedicated to the ideal of individual self-realisation. The 1918 report was well received and sparked little to no debate. Deemed a 'triumph for the anti-academician', it became popularly known among educators as the 'seven cardinal principles'. Generations of prospective teachers memorised and were tested on its aims. And, by officially divorcing the American high school from its earlier college preparatory function, the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* instigated a critical shift in secondary schooling that changed the shape of American education for generations to come.[21]

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[19] U.S. Bureau of Education, Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, Bulletin No. 35 (Washington, D.C., 1918), p. 19.

[20] Behind this lay the experience of the First World War with its ethnic and social fractures and the consequent need to create domestic unity.

[21] As many researchers have discussed, the *Cardinal Principles* represented a complete turnabout in American secondary education. Earlier high schools served largely as academic and selective institutions, but under the guidance of the seven cardinal principles the new high school was to take greater responsibility for 'producing a normal, physically and morally healthy individual'. These were the values traditionally inculcated by the family. Ulich, *The Education of Nations*, p. 244.

Then, there was the problem of numbers. Demographically, the first two decades of the twentieth-century saw the pool of potential high school students ever expanding. In 1900, 10.3 percent of 14 to 17 year olds in America had attended high school. This increased to 14.3 percent in 1910, and by 1920 the percentage had leapt to 31.2 (over 2 million students).[22] As high school enrolment soared, educators found it necessary to accommodate the notable 'tidal wave of ordinary youth' from immigrant and working class backgrounds.[23] One of the major figures to tackle the problem of increasing numbers of students was Ellwood P. Cubberley.[24] Under the guidance of Cubberley, educationists in the United States turned in the 1920s to 'scientific' techniques such as intelligence testing, vocational guidance, grouping by ability and age, and the streamlining of school administration using cost-effective methods of management. Cubberley viewed psychology as the 'guiding science of the school'.[25] Like many educational reformers of his day, Cubberley believed that 'efficient' education was above all a way to prepare students for their future employment or destination in life. Using scientific methods, the progressive educator attempted to forecast a student's future social and vocational role. The public high school curriculum was differentiated to meet these predicted needs. 'The overeducated man', writes Cubberley, 'is scarcely possible if an education adapted to his needs and station in life is given him'.[26] According to Cubberley, an 'efficient' secondary

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[22] Ringer, *Education and Society*, p. 140, 152. By comparison, in 1900 secondary school enrolment in France and Germany was 2.5 and 2.7 percent respectively. By 1910 these figures had virtually remained static at 2.6 percent in France, whilst there was a slightly greater increase in Germany at 3.2 percent.
[23] Diane Ravitch, *Left Back, A Century of School Reforms* (New York, 2000), p. 99.
[24] Cubberley was a teacher in Indiana, a school superintendent, a professor of education at Stanford University from 1898-1917 and later served as dean of the College of Education at Stanford from 1917-1933. Cubberley's books on the history of American education and administration, *Changing Conceptions of Education* (1909) and *Public School Administration* (1916) served as basic textbooks in Schools of Education across the country for a succession of American schoolteachers and administrators. Cubberley's later volume, *Public Education in the United States* (1919) was heralded by Lawrence Cremin as a 'watershed' event in the history of American education. Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Wonderful World of Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, An Essay on the Historiography of American Education* (New York, 1965), p. 6.
[25] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Changing Conceptions of Education* (New York, 1909), p. 43.
[26] Cubberley, *Changing Conceptions of Education*, p. 68.

school education would further implant an 'Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government'.[27] Indeed, the new progressive theorist had distorted the fundamental principles of John Dewey's philosophy of education. This was revealed clearly by Cubberley's Social Darwinist attitude to class and ethnicity. Feeling that the modern comprehensive high school 'should give up the exceedingly democratic idea that all are equal and that our society is devoid of classes',[28] Cubberley considered immigrants from eastern and southern European nations as essentially 'illiterate, docile, lacking in self-reliance and initiative . . . their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock, and to corrupt our civic life'.[29] As Diane Ravitch has pointed out, the democratic purpose of the comprehensive high school was twisted; requiring all students to follow a college preparatory course of study was thereafter considered elitist. Providing an appropriate education for every child was looked upon as the democratic alternative.[30] Rather than simply being offered an academic curriculum, students were now tracked, both formally and informally, into various educational paths.

Ultimately, tracking in the comprehensive high school was seen as an efficient way to organise an increasingly heterogeneous student population, and the introduction of the guidance counsellor in the 1920s helped the advising of students into a multitude of educational tracks. The role of the high school counsellor was to determine the needs of industry and to 'plan educational programs for individual students to meet those needs,' a

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[27] *Ibid.*
[28] Sarah Mondale and Sarah B. Patton, eds., *School, The Story of American Public Education*, p. 98.
[29] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School, Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957* (New York, 1961), pp. 67-68.
[30] Ravitch, *Left Back*, p. 95.

practice Joel Spring refers to as 'manpower channeling in the public school'.[31] A student's I.Q. and vocational test scores determined an appropriate curriculum track.[32]

To complete the transformation to the comprehensive model of high school education, major changes in teaching methods and extracurricular activities were introduced into public high schools. Methods of teaching now emphasised a child-centred approach to schooling, based on student interest rather than a body of subject matter to be studied. Progressive educators urged schools to move from being a 'great stabilizer,' which was important for immigrant assimilation, to serving as a 'great liberator' of American society.[33] Real-life problem solving, group projects and activity-based learning all came into vogue during the 1920s. The scope of the American high school was further broadened to include the offering of a variety of extracurricular, or after-school activities. It was the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1918 that stressed the social expediency of making extracurricular activities available. According to the Commission an 'unworthy use of leisure' resulted in impaired health, a disrupted home-life, lessened vocational efficiency and further destroyed an individual's civic mindedness.[34] The public high school was therefore given the responsibility of seeing 'that adequate recreation be provided both within the school and by other agencies in the

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[31] Joel Spring, *The Sorting Machine, National Educational Policy Since 1945* (New York, 1976), p. 57.
[32] By the mid-1920s social efficiency as a curriculum theory had begun to take on national appeal. The comprehensive high school programme expanded to include a variety of non-academic courses. In addition to offering a specialisation in the traditional classical curriculum, high schools began to offer new subject concentrations in: Commercial, Manual Training, Home Economics and Scientific studies. Ulich argued against the newly expanded high school curriculum, feeling it made 'no difference to some educators whether the mind of the student has been nourished by material worth learning from a scholarly and humane point of view, or whether it has just been kept busy with something, no matter how trivial'. Ulich, *The Education of Nations*, p. 247.
[33] For John Dewey, education meant growth, a goal 'subordinate to no end beyond itself'. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, p. 122.
[34] U.S. Bureau of Education, *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, p. 10.

community'.[35] Through the process of electing officers and partaking in the decision-making and bargaining duties associated with school clubs, students would be given a realistic introduction to democratic politics.[36] Extracurricular activities were also believed to encourage the 'joining habit' and the art of compromise, thought beneficial for the prevention of an atomised society.[37] Progressive teaching styles and extracurricular activities were yet another way in which the comprehensive high school could better fulfill its province as a force of cooperation and unification in America's democratic state.

A combination of the effective enforcement of child-labour laws, compulsory attendance, the growing need for vocational training and the Depression, maintained the demographic pressures on the American high school throughout the 1930s. In 1920 there were 2.2 million students attending public high schools in America. This figure had doubled to 4.4 million by 1930 and reached 6.6 million by 1940.[38] Coping with the pressures of economic hard times, overflowing classrooms and teacher layoffs, school officials in the 1930s adhered with even more rigidity to the social efficiency model of secondary schooling and the practice of vocational tracking. Faced with the threat of social and economic chaos, the new generation of educational reformers increasingly turned to the public school system as a social panacea. Pre-eminent among these

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[35] U.S. Bureau of Education, *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, p. 15.
[36] Robert Weissberg, *Political Learning, Political Choice and Democratic Citizenship* (New Jersey, 1974), p. 166.
[37] *Ibid.* In one Washington State high school, the number of after-school activities increased from approximately eight clubs in the 1920s to over 25 by the late 1930s, plus offering a full range of athletic sports. The rationale for after-school athletics was to help students develop the 'physical strength' and 'good sportsmanship' necessary to cultivate 'strong friendships'. Bellingham School District, *Whatcom High School Yearbook* (Bellingham, 1935).
[38] U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, Thomas D. Snyder, ed., *120 years of American Education: A Statistical Report*, Table 10, 'Enrolment in Regular Public Elementary and Secondary Schools by grade, 1910-11 to Fall 1990' (Washington, D.C., 1993), p. 39.

reformers George Count argued that the 'evils so evident in the America of the Great Depression could be corrected not by revolution but by school programs'.[39]

However, what concerned educators most in the 1940s was a sudden decline in public high school enrolment, precipitated by low birth rates during the Depression and by America's involvement in the Second World War. In three years, high school enrolment fell by over a million to 5.5 million in 1943-44. Now, school leaders focused their attention on improving the 'holding power' of the American high school, and a curriculum for 'life adjustment' emerged to dominate the post-war system of American secondary schooling. Life Adjustment education was introduced by a prominent leader in vocational education, Dr. Charles A. Prosser, at a conference convened on 'Vocational Education in the Years Ahead,' sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education in 1945. Prosser asserted that the college preparatory track was an appropriate course of study for only 20 percent of American high school students. A further 20 percent of secondary students should be prepared for skilled work through vocational training, while the remaining 60 percent of students would be best served by a curriculum that would help them adjust to life. Again the congruence with democratic values was stressed with the words, 'Instead of catering to the one of every six graduates who goes directly to college, this far more democratic scheme would cater to the five who go directly to life . . .'.[40] The needs of the 60 percent high school majority were outlined by a host of reports in the 1940s and 1950s.[41] The

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[39] Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum 1893-1958* (Boston, 1986), p. 195. The feeling that schools in America could effectively address ongoing social and economic problems dates back to the Jeffersonian era when schools were valued as a 'moral training' ground for the lower classes. This point is argued by Norton W. Grubb and Marvin Lazerson, *Broken Promises, How Americans Fail Their Children* (New York, 1982), p. 134.

[40] Quoted in Franklin R. Zeran, ed., *Life Adjustment Education in Action, A Symposium* (New York, 1953), p. 31.

[41] To name a few: American Council on Education, American Youth Commission, *What the High Schools Ought to Teach* (Washington, D.C.,1940); American Council on Education, American Youth Commission,

general objectives of Life Adjustment education fell into four categories: 1) self-realisation 2) human relationships 3) economic efficiency and 4) civic responsibility.[42] The Progressive's early twentieth-century socially efficient high school curriculum was, as Herbert Kliebard notes, 'not so much significantly altered as accelerated' with the Life Adjustment movement in education. The rationale for Life Adjustment was that it would allow high schools to offer a curriculum that would be of greater interest to a wider range of students. The resultant enthusiasm for schooling would culminate in a greater proportion of high school students remaining in school until graduation. The revised curriculum for Life Adjustment would be of particular help to schools in retaining the unmotivated student. In justification of the Life Adjustment education, W. Lloyd Warner noted in 1944, ' . . . the lower-middle and the lower-class children, in their studies in the high school, were learning a way of life which would help adjust them to the rank in which they were born'.[43]

Given the brazenly quotidian nature of the Life Adjustment curriculum, it was not surprising that this approach provoked extensive criticism in a deluge of books and articles by the early 1950s. Critics, most notably Arthur Bestor and Rudolf Flesch, openly denounced the jejune nature of the life adjustment approach to secondary education.[44]

Youth and the Future (Washington, D.C., 1942); and U.S. Office of Education, *Report of the Second National Conference on Life Adjustment Education* (Washington, D.C., 1950).

[42] Zeran, *Life Adjustment Education in Action*. The Life Adjustment programme concentrated on the basic skills of everyday living, such as family life, hygiene, health and consumer choices. A secondary education for Life Adjustment emphasised the essential aspects of a student's personal and social well-being. Students were encouraged to participate in a growing list of extracurricular activities, assemblies, student class organisation, specialised clubs, intramurals, athletics, socials and entertainment, community service projects, arts, drama and musical productions, debate, speech, school newspaper, magazine, handbooks and yearbooks. Life Adjusters regarded extracurricular activities as possessing equal educational value as the regularly scheduled subject classes. Zeran, *Life Adjustment Education in Action*, p. 395.

[43] W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havinghurst and Martin B. Loeb, *Who Shall be Educated? The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities* (New York, 1944), p. 60.

[44] Arthur Bestor, *Educational Wastelands, The Retreat from Learning in our Public Schools* (Chicago, 1953); Rudolf Flesch, *Why Johnny Can't Read – and What you Can do About it* (New York, 1955).

Bestor levied heavy charges against Life Adjustment as a petty and anti-intellectual programme of study and called for a return to basic academic subject concentration in the nation's high schools. Vigorously, Bestor stated,

> The West was not settled by men and women who had taken a course in "How to be a pioneer". The mechanical ingenuity which is a proverbial characteristic of the American people owes nothing whatever to schoolroom manipulation of gadgets. I for one do not believe that the American people have lost all common sense and native wit so that now they have to be taught in school to blow their noses and button their pants.[45]

According to Bestor, formal instruction in the minutiae of everyday life generated 'the belief that he [a student] cannot deal with any matter until he has taken a course in it'.[46] Bestor further noted that the classical liberal education was designed 'to produce self-reliance' and thus for good reason held a place of centrality in the American high school curriculum.[47] Rudolf Flesch also lambasted Life Adjustment education but focused his attention on the programme's reliance upon the whole-word/whole-language method of teaching. Flesch called for a return to phonics which, he contended, would help counterattack the growing rates of illiteracy that were beginning to beset American society in the 1950s.[48] At the heart of all this criticism was a concern 'that the life adjusters had watered down the curriculum for all students, not just the laggard few'.[49] Although Life Adjustment education originated as a way to retain the unmotivated or struggling student, by the mid-1950s it had developed into a programme that was followed by virtually all

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[45] Bestor, *Educational Wastelands*, p. 64.
[46] Bestor, *Educational Wastelands*, p. 63.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] Flesch argued that memorising or guessing the meaning of whole words was not reading. The whole-word method stressed learning 1,200 words in the elementary grades, the problem being that as their studies progressed and students were faced with an unfamiliar word, they would be unable to decipher its meaning without the use of phonics. Flesch, *Why Johnny Can't Read*, pp. 110-115.
[49] Mondale and Patton, *School,* p. 69.

students in high school. By lowering the standards of high school education, life adjusters seemed to many to lower student expectations, achievement levels and to debase the quality of secondary education in the United States for an entire generation of American youth. Education for life adjustment was said to strip students of a sense of self-respect which 'to a man or a nation is the ultimate source of courage, hope, virtue and will'.[50] Under the weight of this choleric criticism, Life Adjustment education began to lose credibility first with educational intellectuals and ultimately with local school board members, school administrators, teachers and finally parents. Rather unexpectedly, 'life adjustment education turned out to be the prod that awoke a slumbering giant'.[51]

After the Second World War, rapid political and economic changes in America resulted in a growing demand for a professional, white-collar and technical worker.[52] Anxious parents worried that an education for life adjustment would not properly prepare their children for success in an increasingly competitive job market. Having grown up in the turbulent years of the Depression and the Second World War, parents in the 1950s above all sought stability for their children. The key to health, happiness and prosperity was again education. Although compulsory education took hold in the 1930s as a way to get younger Americans out of a crippled job market, by the early 1950s secondary public schooling was considered an integral part of the national experience, and perceived as vital to a child's future economic and social success. Access to public secondary schooling

[50] Bestor, *Educational Wastelands*, p. 13.
[51] Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, p. 258.
[52] In 1900, two-fifths of the working population in the United States were engaged in farming and about the same proportion were employed in manual occupations. Less than one-fifth had white-collar jobs. By 1950 the structure of employment had shifted radically, principally due to the decline in farming occupations, the institution of peacetime military service during the cold war period, and the presence of women, particularly white women over the age of 35, who continued working after the Second World War. In 1900, 4 percent of working women were employed in clerical positions. By 1950 this percentage had increased to 27.4. The shifts to professional, technical and managerial jobs have also been argued to be the result of the population's increased 'desire for income', during the affluent 1950s. Gertrude Bancroft, *The American Labor Force, Its Growth and Changing Composition* (New York, 1958), p. 87.

now affected the chances of active participation in American life to an unprecedented extent. According to Michael Sedlak, historically, the high school diploma 'performed a meritocratic function not because it certified the possession of an agreed-upon knowledge base but because it was relatively rare'.[53] But by the 1950s enrolment in high school had become the norm. In 1940, 50.8 percent of 17 year olds were attending a public high school; by 1950, this figure had increased to 59.0 percent, further continuing a steady climb so that by the end of the decade 69.5 percent of America's 17 year olds were graduating from a public high school.[54] High schools in the 1950s promoted their capacity to bring about the quintessential aims of American education, success, equality and the promise of the American Dream. As noted during a White House Conference on Education in 1955, 'Hope for personal advancement and the advancement of one's children is, of course, one of the great wellsprings of human energy. The schools, more than any other agency, supply this hope in America today'.[55]

Yet, during the early 1950s it was illegal in 17 U.S. states for African Americans to attend a self-styled white public school, and the disparity in educational achievement remained striking. In 1947, 35 percent of whites aged 25 to 29 years had completed four years of high school education, compared to 13.6 percent of non-whites of the same age.[56]

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[53]Michael W. Sedlak, Christopher W. Wheeler, Diana C. Pullin, Philip A. Cusick, *Selling Students Short, Classroom Bargains and Academic Reform in the American High School* (New York, 1985), p. 22.

[54] In 1950, 17.3 percent of French and 9.1 percent of German students were enrolled in secondary education, and by 1960 these figures increased to 42.3 and 12.4 percent respectively. Ringer, *Education and Society*, p. 152.

[55]Committee for the White House Conference on Education, *Report to the President* (Washington, D.C., 1956), p. 4.

[56] 'Percent of People 25 Years Old and Over Who Have Completed High School or College, by Race, Hispanic Origin and Sex: Selected Years 1940 to 2002'. http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/education/tableA-2.pdf. For a discussion on the civil rights movement, educational attainment and the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision see: Ron Field, *Civil Rights in America, 1865-1980* (Cambridge, 2002); Adam Fairclough, *Better day coming: Blacks and equality, 1890-2000* (New York, 2002); Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: the History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's struggle for equality* (New York, 2004); Bernard Schwartz, *The Warren Court: a retrospective* (Oxford, 1996); Christine L. Compston, *Earl Warren: Justice for All* (Oxford, 2001);

Consequently, it was not surprising that educational concerns should spearhead the civil rights movement whose greatest victory was the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* that declared segregated public education unconstitutional. In the *Brown* decision, the Supreme Court argued, 'in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal'.[57] Considered the 'fullest statement of the egalitarian ethic,' the *Brown* decision was the first battle won against de jure segregation in American public schools.[58] However, it has been argued that the influence of the *Brown* decision on actual patterns of American education was marginal because the Court 'failed to spell out . . . what successful desegregation should look like'.[59] Progress towards desegregation was 'predictably slow, as reluctant school districts tinkered with remedies but clung to segregation'.[60]

Together, the discrediting of the Life Adjustment curriculum and the crisis of desegregation cruelly exposed the fundamental weaknesses of the American high school, in particular the whole set of issues associated with multiple expectations, and the practical problems associated with local control. In this situation the launch of Sputnik in October 1957 became an 'instant metaphor for the poor quality of U.S. schools'.[61] Within days, America's public school system was blamed for the Soviet Union's technological success. As one reporter stated, 'What has long been an ignored national problem,

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and Charles J. Ogletree, Jr., *All Deliberate Speed: reflections on the first half-century of Brown v. Board of Education* (New York, 2004).

[57] Lucas A. Powe, Jr., *The Warren Court and American Politics* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 27.

[58] Grubb and Lazerson, *Broken Promises*, p. 139.

[59] Gary Orfield and Susan E. Eaton, *Dismantling Desegregation, The Quiet Reversal of Brown v. Board of Education* (New York, 1996), p. xiv.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] Ravitch, *Left Back*, p. 361.

Sputnik has made a recognized crisis'.[62] In the anxious weeks that followed, the mass media was filled with alarming comparisons. Commenting on these events 25 years later, Landon Jones observed that Soviet children were 'bravely shouldering formidable homework assignments whilst American kids played Davey Crocket'.[63] And while Soviet schools were producing young adults who were 'hardworking, purposeful and aggressive,' America's 'soft' public secondary schools were training students who were 'likeable, considerate and good humored – the kind of well-adjusted youngster the U.S. public schools are proud of producing'.[64] For the better part of the twentieth-century, the American high school concentrated on preparing students for democratic citizenship and life. Now, in a life or death struggle with the communist menace, Americans demanded an 'educational call to arms'.[65]

Congress responded with the passage of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) on September 2, 1958. The intent of the NDEA was clear, with an opening declaration that read: 'To strengthen the national defense and to encourage and assist in the expansion and improvement of educational programs to meet critical national needs'.[66] The Act provided loans, fellowships and grants to university students, as well as financial assistance for study in mathematics, science and foreign languages. The NDEA supported improvement in high school guidance counselling, testing and vocational programmes designed to train students 'for useful employment as technicians or skilled workers in

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[62] 'Crisis in Education', *Life Magazine*, Vol. 44, No. 12 (March 24, 1958), p. 31.
[63] Landon Y. Jones, *Great Expectations: America and the Baby Boom Generation* (New York, 1980), p. 53.
[64] Jones, *Great Expectations*, p. 27.
[65] Dickson A. Mungazi, *The Evolution of Educational Theory in the United States* (Westport, 1999), p. 168.
[66] *National Defense Education Act of 1958*, Public Law 85-864, September 2, 1958, p. 1580.

scientific or technical fields'.[67] Public schools were now considered strategic to winning the Cold War. The study of high school mathematics, science and foreign languages was a matter of national security. *Time* magazine chided public education as an 'anarchist's brainchild,' a system with 'no leader, no philosopher, no hand on the tiller . . . a headless wonder'. After years of exhausting debate, *Time* asserted that Americans yearned for a 'saviour' to lead them to an educational consensus, and 'few men have tried with calmer good sense to work to this end than James Bryant Conant'.[68]

James Conant was a commanding public figure, operating 'at the crossroads of America's power elite - gliding easily among educational, scientific, political, corporate, military, media, diplomatic, nuclear, and intellectual realms'.[69] Characteristic of the age, Conant was a meritocrat and technocrat, a liberal-minded conservative who stayed 'consistently on the side of prevailing government policy,' a secular man who was prudent and dispassionate, a levelheaded scientist, who was sometimes referred to as 'cold blooded'.[70] Born in 1893, Conant was raised, along with his two sisters, in the working class Boston suburb of Dorchester, Massachusetts. Of 'hardy Puritan stock', Conant's parents were hardworking, middle-income Republicans who, along with their young son, attended weekly Swedenborgian services, a Protestant sect that blended scientific enquiry and mysticism. In his autobiography *My Several Lives*, Conant would recall that his mother 'succeeded . . . in making me at an early age more than suspicious of all the

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[67] *National Defense Education Act of 1958*, pp. 1595-1597. The NDEA also supported research and experimentation in the 'utilization of television, radio, motion pictures, and related media for educational purposes'. *National Defense Education Act of 1958,* pp. 1595-1597.
[68] 'The Inspector General', *Time*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 11 (September 14, 1959), p. 70.
[69] James G. Hershberg, *James B. Conant, Harvard to Hiroshima and the Making of the Nuclear Age* (Stanford, 1993), p. 8.
[70] Harold Taylor, *New York Times Book Review* (March 22, 1970), p. 3.

standard arguments in favor of Christianity'.[71] Later in life, Conant classified himself as a Unitarian who paid homage to the gods of science, rationality, and pragmatism.[72]

A precocious child, Conant attended the prestigious Roxbury Latin School from 1904 to 1910. Roxbury Latin offered a six-year college preparatory programme that featured vigorous studies in science and the classics. Conant was an enthusiastic student and gained early admission, with advanced standing, to the Department of Chemistry at Harvard University in the autumn of 1910, on the recommendation of Newton Henry Black, a science instructor at Roxbury.[73] As Conant later wrote, his admission was 'largely on the basis of one schoolteacher's judgement . . . fortunately for me, concern for the education of the "whole man" had not yet been manifested in Cambridge, Massachusetts'.[74]

Conant earned an A.B. and a Ph.D. from Harvard University, graduating in 1916. Shortly after completing his doctorate, Conant and two friends set up a business to produce benzoic acid, no longer imported from Germany, but an explosion destroyed the plant, killing Conant's colleague and two hired men. An examination into the tragedy revealed the 'procedure had been formulated erroneously,' which Conant recalled, 'was no one's fault except my own'.[75] 'This tragic experience with applied chemistry should have discouraged me for a lifetime', Conant added.[76] However, within 18 months Conant had become involved in developing poison gas for use in the First World War. In the Second World War Conant served as deputy to Vannevar Bush in the Office of Scientific Research and Development, working to develop the atomic bomb. Conant was also

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[71] James B. Conant, *My Several Lives, Memoirs of a Social Inventor* (New York, 1970), p.10.
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] Conant, *My Several Lives*, p. 19.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] Conant, *My Several Lives*, p. 45.
[76] *Ibid.*

closely involved in the decision to use the bomb, suggesting 'that the most desirable target would be a vital war plant employing a large number of workers and closely surrounded by workers' houses'.[77] Conant expressed no regrets over his connection with the atomic bomb, recalling that, 'my own misgivings have never been about the use of the bomb. I think the decision was correct. What has often worried me is the thought . . . that the first bomb might have been dropped in May', three months prior to the drop on Hiroshima August 6, 1945.[78] Between 1946 and 1952 Conant also served on the General Advisory Committee of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission which decided, in 1949, to develop the 'super' hydrogen bomb. War, one might say, was one of the two pillars of Conant's life. The other was education.

Conant enjoyed a long and distinguished career as a professor of chemistry (1919-1933) and president of Harvard University (1933-1953), and his views on education reflect the scientist he was. Conant believed heredity determined a human being's capacity and intellectual promise, for one's 'potential for brilliance either existed from the start or was unlikely to surface'.[79] As Conant argued, 'society should be classified according to brainpower and the brainiest people should be its leaders'.[80] Therefore, the ultimate goal of education was the identification and selection of the intelligent few. Conant's support of meritocracy as an educational ideal has drawn a barrage of criticism. As Nicholas Lemann argued, 'the project of picking just the right aristocracy for the United States is fundamentally quixotic, in that it serves only to distract us from the obvious point: a

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[77] As cited in Hershberg, *James B. Conant*, pp. 225-226.
[78] Conant, *My Several Lives*, p. 303.
[79] Hershberg, *James B. Conant*, p. 11.
[80] Nicholas Lemann, *The Big Test, The Secret History of the American Meritocracy* (New York, 1999), p. 24.

democratic nation should not have an aristocracy at all'.[81] Conant was nonetheless a founding member of the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in 1946, and a steadfast advocate of the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT).[82] Aptitude testing was designed to select students most suited for college entrance. During his first ten years as president of Harvard, Conant concentrated on the development of National Scholarships as a means of widening access to higher education regardless of geographic barriers or financial ability, and the use of College Entrance Examinations to aid in the selection of the 'academically talented'.[83] According to Conant, the comprehensive high school was an effective means of 'mitigating the social stratification of society'.[84]

Conant's autobiography, *My Several Lives*, revealed strikingly little about the author. A reviewer for the *New York Times* remarked, 'this swamp of an autobiography (701 pages) seemed to have been written in an airless room on some other planet . . . Mr. Conant doesn't examine his life; he reports it as might an obituary writer'.[85] Carefully sanitised, it is notable, but not surprising, that Conant refers to himself in the third person, particularly when discussing sensitive issues. A prominent psychologist observed, 'he had never encountered a man of such daunting intellectual prowess who had such a blind spot in comprehending psychological problems or irrationality'.[86]

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[81] Lemann, *The Big Test*, p. 347.
[82] Conant's interest and involvement with the ETS dates back to the 1930s. Lemann, *The Big Test*, p. 24.
[83] Harvard's early use of objective testing is argued to have been an important factor in promoting the use of these tests for general admission purposes nationwide. See Lemann, *The Big Test*. In addition to his educational work at Harvard and the ETS, Conant also chaired the elite Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, and acted as president of the American Council of Education and honorary president of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Association.
[84] A. Harry Passow, *American Secondary Education, The Conant Influence, A Look at Conant's Recommendations for Senior and Junior High Schools* (Virginia, 1977), p. 37.
[85] John Leonard, *New York Times* (March 4, 1970), p. 45. True to his character, Conant's unexpected resignation from Harvard in 1953 was announced in the student newspaper with the very economical message, 'Never explain, your friends don't require it; your enemies won't believe you anyway'. Hershberg, *James B. Conant*, p. 4.
[86] As quoted in Hershberg, *James B. Conant*, p. 745.

Nevertheless, whilst serving as High Commissioner to West Germany (1953-1957), Conant became intrigued with the interaction between a nation's social structure and its educational system and was keen to discuss the 'democratizing function of American public education in contrast to the traditional German model'.[87] In the face of the Soviet threat, Conant became increasingly absorbed with American education, feeling that the United States 'shouldn't waste our talent (the top 15% of secondary school age students) so as to compete successfully with the Soviets'.[88] Nearing age 65, Conant embarked on a field study of the American comprehensive high school in the autumn of 1957.[89] As Conant stated, 'I want to identify the schools which are doing a good job in preparing for college the youth with I.Q. above 115, but at the same time are handling adequately the vocational courses in schools where the academic group is not more than 50 percent and the community is not a primarily white collar community or a suburban community'.[90] In the investigation, the central question was 'can we do it all?'[91] Can the American comprehensive high school provide a satisfactory general education for all secondary

[87] Hershberg, *James B. Conant*, p. 706.
[88] A taped recording by the Educational Research Group, *The Conant Philosophy, A Conversation with Outspoken Educator James B. Conant* (Tucson, 1969).
[89] By the summer of 1957, Conant had received a $350,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation and assembled a team of assistants, including three public school administrators and an assistant professor of history from Berkeley, California. All matters dealing with logistical support for the project, the employment of staff, travel arrangements as well as future negotiations with publishers, were handled by the Educational Testing Service, which to the cynical, suggests another agenda.
[90] The focus of Conant's study was on high schools that possessed a high degree of comprehensiveness, with more than half of the student population terminating their formal education at graduation. Conant visited 55 schools in 18 U.S. states. His staff visited a total of 103 schools in 26 U.S. states. Conant's team of educators surveyed only a few suburban schools; most of the high schools were located outside metropolitan areas with a population between 10,000 and 100,000, with 'good reputations'. The high schools were evaluated based on firsthand observations and interviews. Conant noted, 'two of us visited one or more classes' in each school, 'our judgments usually coincided. They are not purely individual opinions'. According to the schedule approved by the Carnegie Corporation, the research was conducted during the 1957-58 academic school year. James B. Conant, *The American High School Today, A First Report to Interested Citizens* (New York, 1959), p. 102.
[91] Conant, *The American High School Today*, p. 15.

school age students, as well as adequately challenge the 'academically talented', leading them to advanced work in the country's top universities?

Conant published his findings in *The American High School Today, A First Report to Interested Citizens* in January 1959. Conant's book became an instant bestseller, a noteworthy accomplishment for a work of American non-fiction.[92] Popularly known as the Conant Report, *The American High School Today* was considered 'terse, powerfully argued, calm and compact'.[93] In popular parlance, Conant was depicted as an 'untiring missionary' and his Report treated as an objective evaluation by a 'disinterested and distinguished outsider'.[94] The Conant Report helped dispel the confusion that surrounded public secondary education in the United States at mid-century. As one high school principal remarked, 'With the mantle of Dr. Conant around me . . . many a working schoolman has finally got the school board's green light for scores of reforms and experiments that promise to make the new year one of the richest in history'.[95]

Could the comprehensive high school hope 'to do it all?' Conant answered with a resounding 'Yes', without radical change to the basic pattern of American secondary education.[96] The Conant Report gave assurance that as a 'peculiarly American phenomenon,' the comprehensive high school was worth saving because the institution safeguarded the basic democratic ideal of equality of opportunity. He added, 'with work,

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[92] Conant's book spent 11 weeks on the *New York Times* bestseller list. The release of *The American High School Today* made front-page news across the country and sold 170,000 copies in the first year and a half. To boost sales and gain support, Conant embarked on a massive prepublication campaign trail, offering complimentary copies to school board members from coast to coast.

[93] See Book Reviews, Howard E. Wilson, *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Fall 1959), pp. 384-388; William W. Brickman, 'Educator's Bookshelf', *School and Society*, Vol. 87, No. 2156 (June 20, 1959), p. 318; and 'Dr. Conant Reports', *The Atlantic Monthly* (March 1959), p. 84.

[94] Fred M. Hechinger, 'Most Bright Pupils are Not Working Hard Enough', *New York Times Book Review* (February 15, 1959), p. 6.

[95] *Time* (September 14, 1959), p. 76.

[96] Conant, *The American High School Today*, p. 15.

quality in quantity is possible'.[97] Rather than develop a selective European model of secondary education, educators were to direct their efforts towards improving the American comprehensive high school. However, the suggested changes were to be minor in nature, incremental and very specific. Conant offered readers 21 Recommendations, intended as a checklist for discussion and analysis by school board members, administrators, teachers and parents. Most of the attention focused on Conant's recommendations dealing with required subjects for all, vocational training, ability grouping, counselling, individualised study and education for the 'academically talented'. Conant's more innovative recommendations included academic inventories and class ranking. Conant prescribed three prerequisites for good schools: a school board composed of 'intelligent, honest, devoted citizens' who understood their function as policy-makers and not administrators, a 'first-rate' superintendent, and a 'good principal'.[98]

The most drastic organisational change was a call for the elimination of all American high schools with graduating classes of fewer than 100 students.[99] Conant stated, 'I should like to record at this point my conviction that in many states the number one problem is the elimination of the small high school by district reorganization'.[100] Conant argued in favour of the large comprehensive high school, which could offer a wider array of academic, vocational and general education courses, at a relatively lower administrative cost. Furthermore, the small high school made ability grouping difficult, causing the 'academically talented' student to become bored and frustrated.[101] According to Conant,

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[97] Conant, *The American High School Today*, pp. 30-32.
[98] Conant, *The American High School Today*, p. 38.
[99] In 1957, out of 21,000 American high schools nationwide, only 4,000 had graduating classes of over 100. Conant, *The American High School Today*, p. 81.
[100] Conant, *The American High School Today*, p. 38.
[101] Conant argued the consolidation of small high schools would also eliminate teacher shortages in important academic subject areas. Conant, *The American High School Today*, p. 79.

the consolidation of small schools would facilitate the implementation of a national policy in secondary education, believed to be crucial in keeping America's educational programme abreast of the Soviets.

In great measure, the positive, constructive and well-aimed approach of *The American High School Today*, facilitated the reception of Conant's study. As the *New York Times* reported, 'The majority of local citizen groups today are busy trying to apply the Conant report on the American high school to their communities'.[102] Conant had silenced public concern over the quality of Life Adjustment education in the 1950s, and his 'kind words' as a 'peaceful reformer' helped soften the resistance of the American public to the idea of re-emphasising intellectual disciplines in the comprehensive high school, particularly since he was concerned with ensuring that all students received a solid general education.[103] In the light of the report, proclaimed the *Saturday Review*, 'we might actually clarify our goals, intensify our concern with the fullest development of our human resources for sounder, more imaginative solutions to critical problems, and thereby reshape our destiny'.[104] A closer look at individual schools in their historical context will help determine whether this actually happened.

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[102] Fred M. Hechinger, 'For Better Schools, Local Citizen Units Score a Victory in Education Battle', *New York Times* (August 14, 1959).
[103] Alvin C. Eurich, 'Lessons for Survival', *Saturday Review* (February 14, 1959), p. 27. See also Conant's Recommendation 3, p. 332, below.
[104] *Ibid.*

Chapter 2

Garfield High School 1958 - 1968

At mid-century, Garfield High School boasted the reputation of being an academic powerhouse. Garfield led all high schools in the State of Washington in the number of graduates and former pupils receiving doctorates in 1957 and 1959. The National Academy of Sciences ranked Garfield High School 5th in Washington State and 235th in the United States on a roster of public high school graduates who received doctorates between 1957 and 1962, with 26 graduates (from classes 1932 to 1955). Garfield was also exceptionally well represented in the National Merit Scholarship Program with 22 graduates in 1966. Two Garfield High School graduates were named Rhodes Scholars in 1963, and five Garfield students were awarded a Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship in 1965.[1] Garfield High attracted students from all over the city of Seattle to its programme for the academically gifted.

Because Garfield High already offered a very strong academic programme, the impact of Sputnik and the publication of Conant's *The American High School Today* was minimal. No changes were made to Garfield's graduation requirements, although the curriculum was strengthened further in the Foreign Languages and Mathematics Departments, with additional courses in Plane Geometry, Advanced Mathematics, Calculus and Trigonometry. The addition of upper division classes in mathematics suggests that students at Garfield were electing the more challenging courses as part of their class

[1] The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship is a private foundation whose purpose is to encourage talented students to choose college teaching as a career. This material is drawn from miscellaneous notations in the Seattle Public School Archives. No systematic records of scholastic achievement are kept.

schedule. Garfield's Foreign Language Department was extremely strong, offering ten different languages including French, German, Russian, Spanish, Latin, Chinese, Japanese, Norwegian, Swahili and Swedish. A study conducted by the Seattle School District found that 40 percent of Garfield High students were studying a foreign language in 1959; 281 students were attending a first year level class; 264 in second year; with 59 students electing to continue the study of a foreign language for a third year. In a comparative study of enrolments in lab sciences between 1949-50 and 1956-57, the Seattle Public Schools reported that 53.4 percent of high school students were enrolled in biology and botany in 1949.[2] This figure had jumped to 72.0 percent by 1956.[3] Students at Garfield were also electing to attend advanced courses in the sciences. The research council found that in 1949, 25.2 percent of high school students were electing chemistry in the 11th grade, with 26.0 percent of the student body taking physics in the 12th grade.[4] By 1956, these percentages had risen slightly to 33.4 and 33.3 percent respectively.[5] Teacher assignments were also strengthened in the academic departments, and by 1960, 59 percent of Garfield's teaching staff was devoted to academic subject areas.[6] In the 1950s and early 1960s, Garfield students were eager to learn, took pride in their school and community, and actively participated in all extra curricular activities.

In the 1950s, three full years of senior high school attendance were required for graduation. For the six semesters students were required to carry at least four full-time subjects in addition to physical education. A credit represented one semester of work, five

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[2] Seattle School District, 'Garfield High School: Science Enrolment Trends' (Seattle, 1957), p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] 'Garfield High School: Science Enrolment Trends', p. 5.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] In the 1956-57 school year, 48 percent of Garfield's teaching staff was devoted to academic subject areas.

periods a week, with a passing grade.[7] Work Experience and Neighbourhood Youth Corp (NYC) credits could be counted as elective credits, one credit representing 200 hours of work.[8] Students were limited to one full-credit in any one department each semester. The minimum requirements for high school graduation with a diploma were: five credits in English, four credits in social studies,[9] two credits in mathematics,[10] two credits in a laboratory science,[11] health education one credit, physical education one and a half credits and electives ten credits. In 1956, the percentage of required credits devoted to academic subjects was 51 percent, credits devoted to electives was 39 percent, with ten percent of the required credits fulfilled through vocational, physical education or home economic courses.

The late 1950s and early 1960s was a time of stability and community involvement within Garfield High and the Central District of Seattle, with low teacher turnover rates, low rates of turnover within the Seattle School Board, low crime rates, low suicide or attempted suicide rates[12] and low absenteeism and dropout rates. The average turnover for teachers at Garfield in the early 1950s was approximately 0.06 percent each academic year; the rate experienced at Bellingham High during the same period was 11 percent. Garfield maintained a low rate of teacher turnover throughout the 1950s, and in 1959

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[7] Fractional credit was given for work in classes that met fewer than five times a week: such classes are glee club, physical education, and driver education. Fractional credit was also given for certain school services or activities such as office help, library help, lunchroom work, work experience, annual staff, stage, salesmanship-advertising, and debate club.

[8] Work credits started during the Second World War when students found it difficult to remain in school and work. Students were graded by employers on job attitude, performance, personal appearance, attendance and punctuality. 200 hours per semester equaled one credit or 12 hours of work per week. Students were required to be regularly employed throughout the semester.

[9] Students were required to complete United States History and Government in 11th grade (2 credits) and Contemporary Problems in 12th grade (2 credits).

[10] The mathematic requirement could be met by Algebra and/or General Mathematics taken in the ninth grade.

[11] The science requirement could be met partially or wholly at the ninth grade level.

[12] In 1957, for residents under the age of 18, there were no suicides and nine attempted suicides in the city of Seattle. As the 1960s progressed, these figures began to rise and by 1967 the Seattle Police Department reported one suicide and 34 attempted suicides by residents under 18.

sustained a 0.07 percent rate; Bellingham High on the other hand experienced a 20 percent turnover in teaching staff during the 1958-59 to 1959-60 school year. Garfield High also boasted a low student-counsellor ratio during the late 1950s. In 1959, Garfield's ratio of guidance counsellor to student was approximately 391:1, a rate that compared to Bellingham High School's ratio of 534:1. Access to a school counsellor gave students the option of either discussing academic difficulties or possible career choices after graduation.

The community around Garfield in the Central District experienced the lowest rate of crime in the city of Seattle throughout the 1950s and early to mid-1960s. The Seattle Police Department reported 962 offences and incidents in 1966. Distributed by sections of the city, 337 of these crimes were committed in the neighbourhoods north of the city centre; 420 crimes were committed in the South; with just 205 offences reported in the Central District of Seattle. By ethnicity, the reports reveal that black juveniles were involved in a relatively low percentage of the total number of crimes committed in Seattle. In 1957-58, 204 school age students were involved in damage to school district buildings. The Seattle School Board determined that white students committed 86.27 percent of these offences, with 8.82 percent of the violations having involved black students in the Seattle area.[13] The percentage of black juveniles involved in crime began a moderate rise in the early 1960s. By 1962, thirteen percent of the reported crimes were committed by black juveniles. The Seattle Police Department reported that 71 percent of the offences and incidents that involved juveniles in 1967 were committed by white students, 24 percent by black students and five percent by Indian or other minorities. Parental involvement and

[13] The report further revealed that 68.14 percent of the students involved were from 'unbroken homes', 24.02 percent from families with divorce or separation, and 34.31 percent of the students came from homes where the mothers worked. Seattle School District, Seattle School Board Minutes, September 10, 1958.

active community organisations helped to maintain social stability in the Central District throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. Each took an active role in student life both inside and outside of school.

With little else to worry about, administrative concerns at Garfield High centred around issues such as 'excessive conformity,' weight problems and writing on school desks. Reflecting the conservative climate of the 1950s, administrators asked students in a 1957 editorial entitled 'You are a Personality', to develop their 'own ideas, habits, and way of living'.[14] The issue of excessive conformity was addressed in several articles featured in the *Garfield Messenger*. In a 1962 article, 'We are Conformists', the writer asks whether Americans had become stagnant and slaves to conformity, with the 'same clothes, same hair, same ideas, opinions and prejudices'. The writer adds, 'We are afraid of saying and doing what we think is right'.[15] Another perceptive student viewed American society in the late 1950s as one where 'pseudo-sophistication' and a 'pocket-book school of thought' prevailed.[16] Administrators also felt compelled to widen student perceptions of the meaning of success in a 1959 editorial, noting, 'Success is not just having your name up in lights or in print . . . If being a mechanic is what you want to do, than be it, apply yourself and try to work up to the best of your ability. If you can do this then you are truly a success'.[17] Conformity, peer pressure and the narrow view of a 'successful life' reflect the growing impact of a youth culture and the increased importance of the media in the 1950s.

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[14] Garfield High School, *Garfield Messenger*, October 4, 1957.
[15] *Garfield Messenger*, October 5, 1962.
[16] *Garfield Messenger*, November 21, 1958.
[17] *Garfield Messenger*, May 29, 1959.

Noted as the first high school in the Pacific Northwest to be truly integrated, Garfield High enjoyed a period of unusual interracial calm in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[18] The student newspaper suggested that many students at Garfield had friends from other races. At a time when interracial couples were frowned upon in broader society, they were often seen walking hand-in-hand in the school halls. Administrators at Garfield took an active role in helping students to deal with the potential challenges to what they deemed 'different friendships'.[19] Assemblies and editorials in the school newspaper were often devoted to the topic of interracial relations at Garfield throughout the 1950s. A transfer student from Little Rock, Arkansas, noted in 1959 that the racial harmony at Garfield was 'no novelty' for 'skin pigments were so varied that each pupil long since has taken all the others for granted'.[20] In 1959, Garfield High accommodated approximately 1,350 students; 48 percent were white, 34 percent black, with 18 percent Asian and other minorities. Yearbook pictures indeed show a multicultural host of faces. In the late 1950s, Garfield High School represented in miniature the American 'melting pot' ideal of harmonious integration. The community was proud of Garfield High and appreciative of the diversity of students who attended classes there.

Garfield High School's ethos was not unlike Bellingham High's in the late 1950s. The importance of popularity, friendships, letterman jackets, cars and clothes is evident at Garfield. Regular features in the school newspaper, the *Garfield Messenger*, included a fashion column, a sports column, as well as a list of students going steady. The *Messenger* also included a Keyhole Column in the 1950s, a column that covered 'what's new' in the classroom, a segment that focused on student concerns regarding issues such as

[18] The concentration of Seattle's relatively small minority community in the Central District resulted in the integration of the area schools, including Garfield High.
[19] *Garfield Messenger*, November 14, 1958.
[20] *Garfield Messenger*, January 28, 1959.

grading, crowded hallways, dress code, and upcoming social affairs. The *Messenger* also featured articles such as 'The Qualities of True Friendliness,'[21] 'Are you Honest?,'[22] 'The First Wealth is Health,'[23] and 'How to be an Ideal Date,' a column that instructed girls to 'laugh at his jokes if necessary but don't giggle, and don't overdue the makeup [sic]'.[24] Boys were advised to 'dress well'.[25]

The merit system at Garfield High was unrelated to scholastic achievement. Like Bellingham High, Garfield students received merit primarily for their personality and citizenship, school and community involvement. Through extra curricular activities, Garfield students were given the opportunity to demonstrate both pride in their school and their ability to succeed. Administrators encouraged involvement in extra curricular activities because they offered students a chance to join together and develop team spirit through sports, clubs, and school assemblies. Participation in sports also helped 'keep the guys out of trouble'.[26] The yearbook shows that the composition of students who participated in extra curricular activities was ethnically balanced throughout the 1950s.

The school calendar at Garfield was very full, complete with football jamborees, drama productions, dances, clubs, concerts and assemblies. In May of 1957, a $3.5 million levy failed in the Seattle School District.[27] At stake was funding for the junior and senior high school athletic programs, the school publications, dramatics, clubs and social affairs. According to Paul Mar, faculty advisor for the *Garfield Messenger*, the 1957 levy failure

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[21] *Garfield Messenger,* November 22, 1957.
[22] *Garfield Messenger*, November 8, 1957.
[23] *Garfield Messenger*, October 25, 1957.
[24] *Garfield Messenger*, November 1, 1957.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Garfield Messenger,* September 27, 1957.
[27] The $3.5 million special levy failed because turnout fell below the 40 percent requirement. The district achieved an overwhelming victory for the levy in October.

meant, 'parents will have to furnish the teenager with much of his entertainment and recreational programs'.[28] In a front-page plea, Mar further remarked, 'If the vote doesn't go through' on the next levy election, 'we will have the same kind of school as we do in Europe . . . Dead!'[29] In September 1960, Garfield faculty members attended a conference on solving football season problems. The lecturer dealt with issues such as 'when to lead songs and yells, transportation, what students should wear to games, audience reaction and behaviour, how to promote enthusiasm, and post-game activities'.[30] As these examples indicate, extra curricular activities were privileged at Garfield High.

Garfield's programme of study and extra curricular activities were established to 'satisfy a student's personal and social needs, and to meet the social, civic, and economic demands of the complex world'.[31] Elective subjects were intended to provide opportunity for the exploration and development of new fields of interest, and for the further development of special interests and abilities already discovered at the elementary school level. The elective programme was also intended to enrich a student's educational experience by strengthening a student's sense of 'self-confidence and poise through satisfying achievement'.[32] And, although Conant might not have had any direct impact on Garfield, a similar rationale to his advocacy of the comprehensive high school is evident in the mission statement presented to the school board by the Superintendent of Seattle Public Schools, Ernest W. Campbell, in 1958. As stated, 'In a very real sense, our democratic system of education which has as its central objective the fullest development of each individual is being challenged by the Soviet system of education which eliminates

[28] *Garfield Messenger*, September 27, 1957.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Garfield Messenger*, September 23, 1960.
[31] Seattle School District, Program of Studies, Senior High School (Seattle, 1956).
[32] *Ibid.*

all freedom of choice. The Seattle Public Schools are committed to provide opportunity for every pupil to achieve his maximum potential'.[33]

The Seattle School District's Manual of Standards for Elementary and Secondary Schools states the specific function of public schools as 'the transmission of those values which society holds dear . . . standards and values are learned and to be learned efficiently, they must be taught'.[34] In the late 1950s, the relevancy of the high school curriculum becomes discernible at Garfield. In biology, students studied the physiological problems involved in space travel; the effects of alcohol, tobacco and narcotics; wise conservation practices and the use of radioisotopes in research on plants and animals in medicine. Botany students focused their attention on plant structure, landscaping, gardening, groundcovers and ornamental shrubs. In chemistry, students at Garfield studied the atomic structure, fossil fuels as a source of energy, and the atom in 'relation to peaceful uses of atomic energy'.[35] Students who elected to take physics studied energy and matter, atomic energy, aerodynamics, ballistics and projectiles, solar energy and radioactivity. Newton's law of gravity was addressed only in the Advanced Physics course. The objective of Business Education was to 'provide the knowledge every person needs to manage competently his own personal business affairs and to understand the structure and the operation of our business and economic system well enough to perform the duties of a good citizen'.[36] English classes at Garfield studied basic grammar as well as 'finding meaning in everyday life' through 'analysis of personal experiences'.[37] Students were

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[33] Seattle School District, Ernest W. Campbell, Superintendent of Seattle Public Schools, Curriculum Guide (Seattle, 1958).
[34] Seattle School District, Seattle Public Schools Administrative and Service Center, Standard of Teaching and Learning, A Manual of Standards for Elementary and Secondary Schools (Seattle, 1960).
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] Seattle School District, Catalog of Secondary School Subjects (Seattle, 1960).
[37] *Ibid.*

further taught to be 'understanding, courteous, tactful, and persuasive' in their writing.[38] The Seattle Public Schools listed seven 'sequential purposes in reading': the ability to define a specific purpose for reading, skill in locating information,[39] the ability to comprehend and organise what is read, the ability to select and evaluate information,[40] the ability to adjust the method and rate of reading to one's purpose and to the nature of the material, skill in using information,[41] and the ability to remember what is read.[42] The study of mathematics was to serve 'as a tool for business, everyday activities, science work and technical work'.[43] Finally, all courses in the Social Studies Department were asked to stress 'accurate observation of the environment, careful listening, ability to read and interpret books, magazines, pamphlets, newspapers, government reports, maps, globes, charts and statistical data,' to enable students 'to use and evaluate radio and TV presentations'.[44]

In the early 1960s, the Seattle School District sought to 'devise and maintain a curriculum that met societal needs,' an objective that required constant evaluation, experimentation, and updating of courses of study and materials utilised in the high school programme.[45] Since between 1960 and 1969 the Seattle School District experienced a 212 percent increase in administrative costs and a 130 percent increase in the total cost of school operations, the district attempted to 'streamline the school organisation' and provide greater efficiency with a plan in 1961 that required hiring five top administrators

[38] Seattle School District, Standards of Teaching and Learning (Seattle, 1960).
[39] Students were to develop skills in using a table of contents, index, dictionary, encyclopedia, card file, maps, as well as the 'skill in skimming'.
[40] Students were instructed to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant information, and to recognise the difference between fact and opinion.
[41] The objective was to help students follow directions, take notes, outline and summarise information.
[42] Seattle School District, Board of School Directors, 'Sequential Organization of Purposes in Reading' (Seattle, 1959).
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Seattle School District, *Annual Report of the Seattle Public Schools* (Seattle, 1963).

to 'lighten the burden of detail' placed upon the local superintendent and school board.[46] Keeping the curriculum relevant therefore placed a significant strain on the Seattle School District's budget, a burden that was particularly difficult to accommodate during the recession in the early 1970s.

The Seattle School District strove for excellence in the high school programme and the School Board felt that 'standards should be high enough to challenge but not high enough to discourage' the student.[47] In keeping with Conant's categories, the district deemed the top 15 percent of students as academically able and the top one to two percent as academically gifted. The 'truly gifted' were defined as students 'with a questioning, persistent attitude,' students who were not ready to accept 'stock answers or pat replies'.[48] The school district was satisfied with and accepted the fact that only 'several' students in a moderately sized school would show inquisitiveness or interest as 'active learners'.[49] In an attempt to effectively educate the remaining 85 percent of high school students, the Curriculum Development Division proposed a study of the 'so-called dull normal pupil' in 1963.[50]

To maintain discipline and order in the classroom, teachers were instructed to seat students alphabetically, and to use a record card system for keeping track of attendance and tardiness. Teachers were encouraged to be 'systematic and organized for each day of each week of the semester,' as well as keep 'accurate and up-to-date records' so that

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[46] Seattle School District, *Annual Report of the Seattle Public Schools* (Seattle, 1962).
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] Seattle School District, Curriculum Guide (Seattle, 1958).
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] Seattle School District, *Annual Report of the Seattle Public Schools* (Seattle, 1963).

'students can assess his/her progress in relation to the rest of class'.[51] At the beginning of each academic year, the Seattle School District published a curriculum guide and sample daily class schedule for teachers to follow. Class time was broken down minute-by-minute and teachers were instructed for example, to 'greet students for the first five minutes of class, from 1:10 pm until 1:15 pm' and to leave the final two minutes, '2:08 pm until 2:10 pm for cleanup'.[52] Teachers were advised to structure small classes on an individual basis; large classes were to be organised by the squad system.[53] The metalwork course outline further asked the instructor to keep 'talks short and to the point' for as 'far as possible, pupils should be held responsible for getting information for themselves'.[54] Before the advent of educational television in the mid-1960s, the administration advocated the use of demonstration boards as an effective visual aid. In a Principles of Teaching manual distributed in 1961, the overall objective of class work was noted as follows; a student's 'thinking should be tinged with emotion. He must have the satisfaction of successful accomplishment from day to day, better, from minute to minute. He must like his teacher and he must be happy in what he is doing'.[55] Thus emotional and psychological well being was given primary importance by the Seattle School District. The district also furnished teachers with sample test questions and example homework assignments. The necessity for step-by-step curriculum guides increased as physical education, home economics, industrial arts and foreign language teachers were assigned to teach in the English and History Departments, a trend that became common as the 1960s progressed.

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[51] Seattle School District, Standards of Teaching and Learning (Seattle, 1960).
[52] Seattle School District, Business English Course Outline (Seattle, 1961).
[53] In the squad system, students worked in groups of five or six.
[54] Seattle School District, Metalwork Course Outline, Introduction to Metalwork and Metals I, II, III, IV (Seattle, 1959).
[55] *Ibid.*

In 1958, a senior at Garfield questioned the approach to secondary schooling which emphasised 'social adjustment, character, individuality, and broad knowledge'.[56] The student argued the true purpose of public education in a democracy was to bring the 'individual to thought, both logical and abstract in nature,' for once exciting thought was achieved, character, social adjustment, knowledge and fun would naturally follow, 'for they are products of thinking'.[57] Superintendent Campbell publicly commented on the student's theory, stating that he felt it important 'not to over-emphasize education of knowledge, mathematics, and language arts, for they alone do not contribute to the development of a well-rounded individual'.[58]

A pupil's ability to think independently was developed through a combination of supervised study, independent study and the development of research techniques. Homework was assigned to develop good work habits and an appreciation for the value of learning, also to stimulate initiative, responsibility, and self-direction.[59] In high school, students at Garfield in the 1950s were given one to two hours of home study each day. The supervised study plan at Garfield High allowed a portion of each class period for study; the time was 'intended to aid and direct home study, not to eliminate it'.[60] The help students received in the classroom was designed to enable them to 'attack their home assignments more effectively'.[61] The homework programme was also seen as an important link between the school and home. Through home study, parents were given the opportunity to understand the school objectives and the nature of their child's schoolwork. The Seattle School District's homework policy became extremely important as home study

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[56] *Garfield Messenger*, October 31, 1958.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] Seattle School District, Standards of Teaching and Learning (Seattle, 1960).
[60] Seattle School District, 'General Regulations Governing Senior High School' (Seattle, 1958).
[61] *Ibid.*

was assigned with increasing irregularity, and ceased to be given to Garfield students altogether by the late 1960s. As this shift occurred, parents became alienated from the school, whilst homework assignments began to absorb more class time. In spite of the Seattle School District's support for Life Adjustment education, the curriculum at Garfield High in the late 1950s and early 1960s was, in relative terms, challenging and students prospered.

After starting the decade with such promise, Garfield High tumbled hard in the 1960s. Discipline problems began to develop appreciably at Garfield in the 1960-61 school year. The *Garfield Messenger* reported that library books were not returned, school spirit began to wane, tardiness and litter problems increased, and students complained of shoving in the halls. Minor irritants perhaps, they were nonetheless symptomatic, for as the early 1960s progressed, the Central District of Seattle began to develop into a ghetto and the 'model school' became a 'disadvantaged school' within a strikingly short period of time.

In the early 1960s, there was a significant in-migration of blacks into the Central District of Seattle with a corresponding white flight to the suburbs. White parents with the economic means to move relocated to the suburbs north of the city centre, enrolling their children in schools which had a low proportion of minority students. Seattle's Asian community relocated further south of the Central District. The wartime migration of blacks out of the South and into Northern cities such as Seattle for jobs and opportunities, continued throughout the post-war period. Between 1950 and 1970, the black population went up tenfold in Seattle, reaching 38,000, or 7.1 percent, of the city's total population in 1970. The census showed a corresponding increase in housing segregation for Seattle's black community. In 1950, the black community in Seattle represented 16.5 percent of the

population in the Central District, with whites representing 72.2 percent. In 1960, 40 percent of the Central Area was black. By the late 1960s, black residents constituted over 50 percent of the population living in the Central District, with 81 percent of Seattle's black residents living in the Central Area by 1968. Although the population of the Garfield attendance area jumped from 20,800 to 32,400 in the 1960s, the availability of housing in the area increased by just four percent over the same period.[62] The shortage of housing in the Central District was compounded by the construction of the North-South Interstate Highway 5, a project that began in 1960 and essentially trimmed off the western section of the Central District. The main link and interchange between the North-South Interstate 5 and the East-West Interstate 90 was also built in the heart of the Central District in the early 1960s, a project that required a considerable amount of demolition and the relocation of families living in the area.

Various economic factors contributed to the deprivation of Seattle's black residents in the 1960s. The Seattle Census of 1960 revealed a wide occupational disparity between African Americans and whites. As the Census revealed, black residents tended to work in lower-paying jobs with 37.2 percent of Seattle's black population working as operators, fabricators or labourers. The second highest occupational category for black residents was 16.8 percent working in service jobs. The lowest employment categories for black residents in Seattle were in managerial, professional, technical or sales positions. Discriminatory hiring practices and promotional patterns served as barriers to higher paying jobs for most of Seattle's black residents. Confined to unskilled and service occupations, the majority of black Seattleites lived with economic insecurity in the 1960s.

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[62] Norbert MacDonald, *Distant Neighbors, A Comparative History of Seattle and Vancouver* (Lincoln, 1987), p. 173.

In a 1968 study of the disparity in occupational levels, the Seattle Urban League found that educational achievement did not correlate with increases in occupational status for members of the black community.[63] Adding to the frustrations and instability, black residents also suffered higher rates of unemployment. In 1960, the unemployment rate for non-white residents in Seattle was 19.5 percent as compared to the white unemployment rate of 11.8 percent. The unemployment gap increased throughout the 1960s. By 1970, 25.6 percent of non-whites compared to 15.2 percent of whites were listed as unemployed in the Seattle area. According to the 1970 Census, the median income of African American families in Seattle was $8,460, compared with $11,037 for all families in the city.

Restrictive housing covenants, housing shortages, unemployment and underemployment in the Central District led to greater isolation and misunderstanding for Seattle's black community. The result was an upswing in racial tensions and racial incidents as the 1960s progressed. Once considered an enclave of harmoniousness, the Central District reported the highest rate of crime in the greater Seattle area, with one-third of the city's juvenile delinquents residing in the Central Area by the late 1960s. The percentage of black juveniles involved in crime jumped from 13 to 24 percent between 1962 and 1967. Seattle's stable and tolerant social environment began to falter as the Central District developed into an inner-city ghetto. In the early to mid-1960s, discontent was on the rise.[64]

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[63] A. Ludlow Kramer, Chairman, *Race and Violence in Washington State*, Report of the Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Civil Disorder; Presented to the Urban Affairs Council and Governor Daniel J. Evans (Olympia, 1969), p. 22.

[64] In June of 1963, an estimated 1,300 residents marched from the Central District to downtown Seattle demanding greater employment opportunities for blacks in the city's departments stores. The local Bon Marche responded with a promise of thirty new jobs for African Americans. Several days later, four hundred citizens rallied at the City Hall to protest delay in passing an open-housing law that would allow

At Garfield High, drinking, drug use, tardiness and attendance problems began to surface.[65] The first reference to the presence of racial discrimination at Garfield High appeared in an article published in the *Garfield Messenger* in December 1960. The student sought to raise awareness of the idea 'that all don't hear or interpret something the same way'.[66] In the 'Counselors Corner' column of the *Garfield Messenger*, school counsellors were frustrated by students 'not giving attention to their education' for many had failed to sign up for required courses, or had signed up for classes that required special permission without the proper documentation.[67] Once considered overachievers, the featured boy and girl of-the-month had to be 'woken up' for their interview in 1962.[68] The percentage of students who dropped out of Garfield High began to increase dramatically in the mid-1960s. Whereas the school reported a rate of 4.6 percent in 1965, the figure had climbed to 16.9 by 1968. The mean percentage for all high schools in the city of Seattle in 1968 was 7.84.

Reflecting its multicultural character, in 1957, Garfield High had been the first high school in Seattle to have a student body with a combined minority enrolment of over 50 percent.[69] The trend towards its becoming a minority segregated school became more evident with each additional year as housing and employment patterns led to the growing presence of *de facto* segregation in the Central Area schools in the early 1960s. The 1970

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blacks to rent or buy homes outside of the Central District. As reported in the *Seattle Times*, 'The mayor and City Council responded by creating a 12-member Human Rights Commission, but only two blacks were included on the panel. Angry and insulted, 23 black and white protestors staged a sit-in at City Hall, prompting Seattle's first civil-rights movement arrests'. 'Seattle Blacks View Decades of Change', *The Seattle Times*, February 26, 1985.

[65] Attendance rates at Garfield had slipped to 83 percent in 1967.

[66] *Garfield Messenger*, December 16, 1960.

[67] *Garfield Messenger*, May 10, 1963.

[68] *Garfield Messenger*, October 19, 1962.

[69] Franklin High School, located just south of the Central District, reported a 9.1 percent minority enrolment in 1957, the second highest in the city of Seattle.

Census showed that over 50 percent of Seattle's black population lived in just seven of 121 census tracts, with only 21 of the 121 tracts reporting over five percent African American population.[70] For many years, the number of students enrolled served as the Seattle School District's primary determinant in the allocation of funds and staff. Amidst increasing poverty, the Central Area Principals Committee,[71] chaired by Garfield's principal, Frank Hanawalt, urged the school district in 1961 to allocate additional resources and services to the Central Area schools. The committee asked the school district to encourage experienced and competent teachers to apply for vacancies in the area and called for smaller class sizes and stressed the need for stronger vocational programmes. The Central Area Principals Committee also requested additional guidance and counselling services. To help ensure equal educational opportunity, the Central Area schools began to receive special assistance in the fall of 1961. Interest in *de facto* segregation accelerated rapidly as Garfield made headline news in 1962 when the school became the first high school in the city of Seattle to become more than 50 percent black. In an attempt to end public school segregation, Phil Burton, an NAACP attorney, member of the ACLU, and father, filed a lawsuit against the Seattle School District in 1962. Following delays in scheduling a trial date, the Seattle School Board made the decision to initiate a voluntary desegregation plan with a mandatory backup.[72] The first tentative step towards desegregation had been taken.

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[70] Seattle School District, Alice Woldt, 'Schools and Neighborhoods Research Study, Real Estate Marketing Practices and Residential Segregation' (Seattle, 1978).

[71] The Central Area Principals Committee was supported by community groups including, the Seattle Urban League, School Committee of the Municipal League, Garfield Area Community Council and the Civic Unity Committee.

[72] During early discussions, Seattle experimented with the idea of closing racial minority schools and reassigning the students to predominantly white schools.

Although the Seattle School Board acknowledged the growing problem of segregated schools in the Central District, at a public meeting held in June 1963 the board president, Mrs. Henry Owens, stated, 'De facto segregation has been a matter over which we have had no control'.[73] Owens further noted that the school district had made no specific plans to end segregation.[74] In 1964, over 98,000 students attended Seattle public schools; 83.6 percent were white. At that time black students were the single largest minority group in the school system, comprising approximately seven percent of the school population. The complacency of the School Board incited an outcry in the black community. Under the relentless pressure of civil rights leaders, city officials and the Seattle School Board worked quickly over the summer of 1963 to find a solution to *de facto* segregation in the Seattle area schools. The School Board responded by appointing a citizens committee to study the problem. In late 1963, the Citizens Advisory Committee for Equal Educational Opportunity submitted their findings and recommendations for change.

In consideration of the question of racial imbalance in the Seattle School District, the Citizens Advisory Committee first paid particular attention to school boundaries and whether or not they had been deliberately adjusted to produce segregated schools in the Seattle area. The committee found that of the 11 public schools[75] located in the Central District, eight were more than 50 percent black; four of the area elementary schools were more than 80 percent black by 1963. Most other public schools in Seattle had remained essentially all white. However, the Committee found no evidence of 'gerrymandering' against black students. The residential concentration of African Americans in the Central District was determined to be due to 'social and economic factors, race prejudice and

[73] Doris H. Pieroth, 'With All Deliberate Caution, School Integration in Seattle, 1954-1968', *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 73:2 (April 1982), pp. 52-53.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] The Central District contained eight elementary schools, two junior high schools, and one high school.

private discrimination,' forces that were outside of the purview of the Seattle School District administration. In keeping with the school district's adherence to the neighbourhood school concept, the majority of Seattle's black students attended schools in the Central District simply because they had been assigned to the school nearest their home. Barring the presence of any deliberate actions that would have brought about segregated schools in the Seattle area, the Committee presented a number of recommendations to the school board for further consideration.

The first recommendation was the need for a 'special human relations orientation program' to be conducted in August 1963, a programme that was to be followed by a series of workshops designed to help teachers deal with the 'educationally disadvantaged child'.[76] During the 1962-63 school year, there were 154 African American teachers working in the Seattle schools, a figure that represented less than five percent of the total number of certified employees teaching in the Seattle School District. In 1963, the Seattle School District reported one African American elementary school principal who was serving in a school with no black children, and one African American junior high school vice-principal serving in a school with a low percentage of black students. The workshops therefore dealt with race relations and the specific challenges associated with teaching a minority child. As one Seattle teacher noted, 'The mistake too many teachers make is in expecting or trying to impose middle-class attitudes on these children'.[77] Students from families with low incomes and limited schooling, those who were poorly motivated and doing schoolwork far below their capacity, or students who caused disciplinary problems

[76] Seattle School District, 'The Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee for Equal Educational Opportunity', appointed by the Board of Directors of the Seattle Public Schools (Seattle, 1963). The purpose of these classes was to foster understanding, attitudes, and behaviour toward the practice of democratic human relationships with all individuals, regardless of group membership.
[77] Constantine Angelos, 'Educator Challenges School Tradition', *The Seattle Times*, August 21, 1966.

that occupied the attention of school teachers, principals, police, courts and other agencies were identified by the Seattle School District as educationally disadvantaged. To assist schools with a high proportion of disadvantaged students, the Committee presented the following suggestions:

Early identification of discipline problems
More social workers
More counsellors
Standards of behaviour
Smaller classes
Workshops on discipline problems for teachers
Better teachers
Premium pay for teachers in disadvantaged schools[78]
A 'living-in' school[79]
Special reading classes
The Highline Plan for suspended pupils[80]
Increased athletics
More intramural supervisors
All inclusive sport programmes
More pre-vocational and vocational classes
Better communications with parents[81]

The Committee recommended expanding the extra curricular and vocational offerings in the Central Area schools for they felt that it was 'good to keep all children in school and if it is also the law that we must keep them in school, then let us interest them in school. If we cannot interest them academically, then we must use other attractions to gain this

[78] *Ibid.* After five years of working at a disadvantaged school a teacher qualified for premium pay, 'because no teacher who was not doing a good job in this area would long remain there'.
[79] Seattle School District, 'The Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee' (Seattle, 1963). The Committee recommended that the school district establish a live-in school where students could board full-time. The living-in school proved too expensive for the Seattle School District - the programme was never developed in the Seattle area.
[80] Seattle School District, 'The Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee', p. 26. The Highline Plan, or Interim Program, allowed students with disciplinary problems to attend special classes in the high school for two or three hours every school day after regular hours. The suspended student was readmitted at the start of the next semester if they proved 'sufficiently matured'.
[81] Seattle School District, 'The Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee', p. 29.

interest . . .'.[82] To help retain students until graduation, vocational classes were to be offered, in particular to the disadvantaged student 'to see if they do not help reduce discipline and dropout problems'.[83] The athletic programme was enlarged to include 'many more, perhaps all the children in the school'.[84] To encourage students to participate in extra curricular activities, the school district lowered the requirements, noting students must have satisfactory citizenship 'each week of participation'.[85] With respect to student eligibility for participation in athletic and extra curricular activities, the district suggested the schools make no mention of minimum grade requirements.

The Committee spoke out against the school's growing reluctance to 'flunk' students who were unprepared academically for promotion.[86] Fearing that holding back a student might cause embarrassment and hostility that would 'block further learning,' the school district attempted to 'prop up' the unprepared student 'with special instruction in remedial reading'.[87] As an alternative to automatic promotion, the Committee suggested students be placed in groups 'where all the instruction is designed for his level of understanding', regardless of age or grade level in school. The Seattle School District did not support the use of special classes for students who were presenting disciplinary problems or for the underachieving student, feeling the separation would 'stigmatize pupils as toughs and dummies and alienate the more disturbed children'.[88] Tightening existing disciplinary regulations proved ineffective. Students who were suspended were merely falling further behind in their schoolwork. As a result, the school eased the discipline policy and gave

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[82] Seattle School District, 'The Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee', p. 26.
[83] 'The Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee', p. 28.
[84] 'The Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee', p. 27. The number of physical education teachers at Garfield High was increased from three in 1960 to six in 1964.
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] 'The Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee', p. 25.

students permission to write their own absentee excuses finding that 'parents were sick of being tracked down'.[89] Under the revised discipline policy, students were allowed to cut class 15 times a semester without retribution.[90] The daily absentee rate at Garfield reached 25 percent in the mid-1960s.

The school's objective to 'prop up' underachieving students with remedial reading, created problems. Teachers were left to deal with the difficulties inherent in trying to teach a class of students with reading skills ranging from the 4th to the 12th grade level. The guidance and counselling office was expanded to help combat the problems faced by the underachieving student.[91] The guidance department was responsible for enforcing the State School Attendance Laws; for providing psychological testing and evaluation, casework and consultative services to those students referred for social services; and for providing consultative services to the counselling office.[92] The number of Garfield students who were struggling academically was relatively low, although the percentage was on the rise as the mid-1960s approached.[93]

On the recommendation of the Citizens Advisory Committee for Equal Educational Opportunity, the School Board adopted a statement on August 28, 1963, to modify its neighbourhood school attendance policy to allow open enrolment during the 1963-64

[89] 'The Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee', p. 21.
[90] Each semester included approximately 60 days of attendance, thus 15 days represented 25 percent of the total days attended.
[91] The number of school counsellors increased from three in 1960 to six in 1964.
[92] Seattle School District, School Board Policies, Responsibility of the Public School, Instruction Series 1000, Guidance Services (Seattle, 1965).
[93] In 1966-67, there were 294 students who were enrolled in the Scholastic Honor Roll at Garfield. To be eligible for the Honor Roll, a student must have a B average or better. The enrolment at Garfield in 1966 was 1609, 'Students at Garfield Value Good Grades', *The Seattle Times*, March 22, 1967.

school year.[94] To avoid lawsuits over segregated schools, the Seattle School District implemented a Voluntary Racial Transfer Program (VRT) in 1963. Under the VRT programme, students were permitted to voluntarily transfer to schools outside of their regular attendance area. The VRT programme was designed to promote racial balance in the 'leaving and receiving' schools. In the 1962-63 school year, Garfield High was 51.4 percent black. As a predominately black school, Garfield High was designated as a leaving school. In granting student transfer requests, priority was given to 10th grade students and, except in cases of emergency, students were required to remain in the receiving school for the full academic year. Civil rights groups in the Seattle area applauded the transfer programme.[95] However, the VRT programme did not work as well as had been expected for in 1963 only 247 of the anticipated 1,400 students participated in the VRT programme, 239 of whom were black students who transferred out of Garfield, with only eight white students electing to transfer into Garfield High School. 'According to legal opinion and because of financial stringencies,' no provision had been made for bus transportation. VRT students, therefore, either had to have their parents drive them to school or pay for public bus transportation. As a result, the scope of the VRT programme remained very limited in its early years.

Nevertheless, its aim was to find a balance between the individual and society. In 1965, the primary concern of the Seattle Public Schools was to furnish society with an educated citizenry whilst preserving the 'dignity and worth' of the individual. The school

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[94] The newly formed Central Area Civil Rights Committee staged a demonstration in Seattle on August 28, 1963, to coincide with the planned 100,000-member march on Washington, D.C. Demonstrators in Seattle were urged to attend the school board meeting that afternoon. The meeting drew a crowd of approximately 250 people.

[95] The Central Area Committee on Civil Rights, Seattle Urban League, NAACP, Central Area Motivation Program (CAMP), CORE, and the Black Ministerial Alliance supported the VRT programme by disseminating information, encouraging parents to become involved, student recruitment and orientation.

board also felt the individual was to be nurtured 'not alone for the contribution he may make to the social effort, but also and primarily for the sake of the contribution he may make to his own realization and development'.[96] At Garfield High School, increased attention was given to the wide range of individual differences. In the mid-1960s, there were significant and appreciable changes to the curriculum.

As a comprehensive high school, Garfield began to provide a variety of subjects to meet the varying needs of the student body. The curriculum expanded, became more non-graded, flexible and diversified. As the problems of poverty became more evident in the Central Area, the district called for 'more classroom concentration' on the culturally disadvantaged student.[97] Studies in occupational education were thus made an integral part of the curriculum in the secondary schools. By 1965, the Seattle School District had accepted responsibility for training students in a variety of vocations. Classes in vocational education, work-experience programmes and on-the-job training were added to the curriculum. The decision to expand the availability of vocational subjects in the high school programme stands in direct contrast to the district's 1961 policy that stated, 'The present position of the Seattle Public Schools is that the major process of vocational preparation follows high school'.[98]

In the Home Economics Department at Garfield High, classes in Family Finance, Personal/Family Management, Personal/Family Relationships, Child Care and Development, Bachelor Homemaking, Child Day Care, Sewing for Profit, Feast Home

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[96] Seattle School District, School Board Policies, 'Responsibility of the Public School' (Seattle, 1965).
[97] A student was considered 'culturally disadvantaged' if they were from either a low-income family, a single parent family home, or whose parents or guardian had received little to no education beyond the high school level.
[98] Seattle School District, *Seattle Public Schools*, Special Edition, Vol. XXXVIII, S-4, December 11, 1961.

Economics, and Advanced Clothing/Tailoring were added to the curriculum in the mid-1960s. The Industrial Arts Department also expanded, adding Electronics I, II, III, Construction Maths I, Technical Drawing, Machine Shop, Assembly Mechanics, Automotive Services, Drafting and Machine Operator to the list of available courses. Between 1960 and 1968, the number of classes offered in business education increased from 19 to 38 and classes in the industrial arts increased from 19 to 33. The majority of classes added to the curriculum at Garfield High in the 1960s reflect the Seattle School District's policy to concentrate on the culturally disadvantaged student.

Garfield also developed a close association with the Edison Vocational School located in the Central District of Seattle. Garfield students were able to attend vocational classes at Edison and receive high school graduation credit. It was expected that many of the courses available at Edison Vocational would be at the community college level. However, Edison found it necessary to instruct students 'at whatever level their needs might indicate'.[99] In 1967, the Seattle School District began offering students the opportunity to earn high school credit during summer school sessions. As a way to 'catch-up' on lost schoolwork, students could attend either one of two summer sessions, morning or afternoon, for the completion of an eight-week course.

In the early 1960s, the Seattle School District annexed the old Washington Elementary School, which was located two miles from Garfield High School. The school was remodelled and opened as the James A. Garfield High School (Campus B) in 1964. To fulfil the needs of an expanding comprehensive high school programme, Garfield students attended classes at Campus B, where most dealt with career education, and included a

[99] Seattle School District, 'History of Edison Technical School' (Seattle).

daycare centre for students' babies, as well as serving as a community daycare centre, a restaurant and food-preparation area, a dry-cleaning plant, a cosmetology classroom and the 'best automotive-technology facility in the state'.[100] The Seattle School District assigned an associate principal to oversee Garfield 'B'. Students were required to walk the two miles between Garfield 'A' and Garfield 'B', a necessity that resulted in tardiness problems as students rushed to attend class at both campuses.[101]

In the mid 1960s, a student work experience programme was also introduced at Garfield. Students were hired to work in the school lunchroom, kitchen, garden, building maintenance and school printing office. Two hundred hours of work per semester was equal to one high school credit; students worked an average of 12 hours per week for one semester credit. This programme is similar to the one at Bellingham High School. However, in Bellingham students were able to obtain outside jobs whereas at Garfield the school district employed the students, a decision that was largely due to the high unemployment rate for black teens. In offering expanded vocational and work experience courses to the 'disadvantaged student in particular,' an important distinction was made; the school district singled out the disadvantaged student, not the learning disabled. Hence, more than anyone else, students from poor families were learning to make a living. Student employment rates, outside of high school work, began to climb throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The total percentage of enrolled male students, 14 to 18 years of age, who were part of the Seattle labour force in 1950 was 22.5 percent; by 1960 the rate had climbed to 35.5 percent; and in 1970 this figure had dipped slightly to 33 percent. By contrast, the total percent of citywide enrolled African American male students between

[100] Seattle School District, History of Garfield High School, Campus B (Seattle, 1967).
[101] Students at Garfield were given five minutes between classes.

the ages of 14 and 18 who were employed outside of high school was 64.7 percent in 1960. The greatest increase in student employment trends throughout the 1950s and 1960s was the number of African American students in Seattle working 35 or more hours per week. In 1960, seven percent of black males who were enrolled in high school were working 35 hours or more per week; by 1970 this figure had jumped to 35 percent. The research of Charles Berryman and Donald Schneider indicates that the increase in employment responsibilities had a negative side effect on a student's 'social characteristics, attitude toward work, school achievement, and delinquency rates'.[102]

During the mid-1960s, there was a significant expansion in remedial, introductory and non-sequential[103] courses at Garfield High. Again, relevance, self-expression, current social affairs and action-oriented learning took precedence in the curriculum. In a required speech course, students were instructed to avoid using 'many syllabled [sic]' words; students were encouraged to use words that were clear, precise, 'picturesque and pleasant sounding'.[104] During oral presentations, students were asked to keep sentences 'simple, not complex and involved, because they must be understood the instant they are uttered'.[105] Students were also asked to use personal pronouns 'extensively'.[106] The district's objective for speech was to stimulate a student's 'interest in persons around' them, as well as 'develop an appreciation and tolerance for the ideas of others'.[107] The required reading list for the course included, *How to Have a Good Telephone Voice, Your Voice is You* and *How to Get and Hold the Right Job.*

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[102] Charles Berryman and Donald O. Schneider, 'Patterns of Work Experience Among High School Students: Educational Implications', *The High School Journal* (April/May 1983), p. 267. The increase in hours worked also decreased the amount of time a student could devote to homework assignments.
[103] Non-sequential classes were courses that did not build on material studied in previous class work.
[104] Seattle School District, Basic Speech in High School (Seattle, 1968).
[105] *Ibid.*
[106] *Ibid.*
[107] *Ibid.*

Teachers were instructed to develop a curriculum in the Language Arts Department that reflected the interests and experiences of the student body. Coursework in all Language Arts classes thus focused on expository writing, biographical sketches, journal entries, editorials, interviews and the writing of business letters. During each period, students were asked to evaluate the writing of their peers; the best essays were placed on the bulletin board and read aloud during the last 20 minutes of class.

During the 1960s, there was also an appreciable increase in the use of films, field trips and educational television at Garfield. A two-year comparison of the Seattle School District's capital outlay expenditures between 1961 and 1963 reveals an increase of nearly 2,000 percent.[108] The bulk of the expenditure involved the purchase of additional audio-visual equipment and departmental supplies for coursework in art, music, physical education, industrial arts and business education. An introductory high school radio and television course was added to the curriculum at Garfield in the mid-1960s. The objective of the class was to assist students in the 'development of an appreciation for broadcasting' and to 'teach through elementary broadcasting better speaking, writing, listening, cooperative effort and creativity' skills.[109] Within the Seattle School District a yearlong television course in Elements of Calculus and Analytic Geometry was offered at various high schools, however, twice as many students enrolled in the course at Garfield than at any other school within the district. Teachers relied heavily upon films and field trips as a learning tool in virtually all subject areas.

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[108] Seattle School District, *Annual Report of the Seattle Public Schools* (Seattle, 1961 and 1963).
[109] Seattle School District, Radio and Television in the Secondary Schools, MSA Curriculum Guide (Seattle, 1968). These new courses were means, rather than ends in themselves, and their impact on intellectual standards would depend on how they were taught.

Exploratory projects in team teaching and independent study were introduced at Garfield in the mid-1960s. In an effort to 'shake the static out of the high school format,' the assistant superintendent for secondary education, Jack Greaves, set about changing several hallmarks of public school tradition.[110] Greaves questioned the high school's reliance upon the one-hour class period and the daily class session, feeling that periodic class meetings would be sufficient. Greaves also questioned the conventional class size of 30 students. 'This', Greaves noted, 'developed because of the range of a teacher's voice. Now with electronic equipment the voice can reach thousands'.[111] In classes that relied heavily upon films, Greaves felt the class size should be commensurate with as 'many as you can get into a room'.[112] The school district further expanded class grouping and placed more emphasis on students with reading difficulties. Individualised instruction was also introduced.

The decision to expand special and vocational programmes, as well as utilise individualised study plans, presented administrative and instructional difficulties at Garfield. The growing diversity in educational opportunities created a necessity for cutbacks in the general high school programme. English teachers at Garfield were asked to handle up to 150 students per semester, making instruction in writing nearly impossible. The emphasis placed on social problems, rather than studying the 'basic R's', was a recipe for disaster and conditions worsened dramatically over the next few years. A Garfield

[110]Constantine Angelos, 'Educator Challenges School Traditions', *The Seattle Times*, August 21, 1966, p. 25.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] *Ibid.*

teacher commented, 'We've had a Band-Aid complex here, slapping in a new program when there's a crisis, but where's the coordination?'[113]

The Seattle School Board responded by making a leadership change, selecting Dr. Forbes Bottomly as the new Superintendent of Schools in 1964. A Colorado native, Bottomly was the first superintendent to come from outside Seattle since 1900. School Board member Dr. Edward Palmason recalled the decision to hire Bottomly noting, 'Because Seattle had almost an incestuous line of superintendents . . . The reason we hired him was his progressive stance . . . he was willing to shake the tree . . . we wanted a breath of fresh air in the community. It turned into a kind of tornado'.[114] Once in Seattle, Bottomly chose a more conservative approach to the district's segregation-related problems. To familiarise himself with the city and its schools, Bottomly attended meetings in the Central District and met with black community leaders, parents, civil rights activists and students.

The year following initiation of the VRT programme Edwin Pratt, director of the Seattle Urban League, submitted a desegregation plan to the Seattle School Board. As discussed by Ann Siqueland, director of the non-profit corporation, the Coalition for Quality Integrated Education (CQIE), Pratt's original Triad Plan sought to eliminate the isolation of children from low-income homes by moving entire neighbourhoods of students, both in and out of the Central District. The belief was that 'socioeconomic factors, rather than racial factors, determine the disadvantaged status of isolated students', adding there was 'no necessary advantage to black children who sit in class next to white

[113] John de Yonge, 'The Needs of Garfield High Gnaw at the Whole System', *The Seattle Times*, March 30, 1969.
[114] Pieroth, 'With All Deliberate Caution', p. 55.

students'.[115] According to Pratt, keeping African American students together would preserve the strength of the black community. The Triad Plan thus called for the socioeconomic integration of the white community as well as the black community. In 1965, the Triad Plan was presented and quickly rejected by the school board. Many were not convinced about the merits of the plan, feeling the 'city was not ready for mandatory desegregation efforts'.[116] Despite the apparent standstill in the process of school desegregation, the black community remained optimistic. In January 1966, the Reverend John H. Adams of the First African Methodist Episcopal Church stated,

> We believe that Seattle is one of the few cities left in America which can solve its racial problem before it becomes unsolvable. The small Negro population, the current economic boom, the opportunity to do planned social engineering and the remarkable talent in our city make this possible and feasible. We hope that the limitations of political and economic power by Negroes will not cause our community and its leaders to ignore us and reap the whirlwind of our discontent.[117]

By the spring of 1966, however, very little progress had been made. Frustrated by the lack of action, the Central Area Civil Rights Committee filed a lawsuit in federal court on behalf of 30 black students, and a school boycott was organised to take place on March 31, 1966. Endorsed by the local clergy, more than 3,000 black students and white supporters marched in protest. Black residents felt the education their children were receiving in Central Area schools like Garfield High, Washington Junior High and Madrona Elementary was not equal to that of white students. Many also felt segregated schools only

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[115] Ann LeGrelius Siqueland, *Without a Court Order, The Desegregation of Seattle's Schools* (Seattle, 1981), p. 196. Siqueland was director of CQIE for two and a half years from 1973 until early 1976.
[116] Siqueland, *Without a Court Order,* p. 12.
[117] As quoted in Quintard Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community*, p. 158.

perpetuated racial tension and fears. School officials denounced the boycott; many believed it was 'inappropriate for the black community to use its children to try to make a political point'.[118] Reverend Adams defended the boycott, 'I would remind these custodians of the status quo that these segregated schools against which we boycott have been illegal for 12 years and they never have said a mumbling word'.[119] In the Central Area schools, absences increased from 824 the day before the boycott to 3,185 on its first day and 3,918 on the second.[120] The boycott was considered a success by the sponsoring organisations. However, as Pieroth notes, 'The school district did little as a result, although later that spring Bottomly increased the number of black administrators in the system'.[121] To take matters into their own hands, the Central Area Civil Rights Committee, headed by Rabbi Raphael Levine, raised private funds to provide money for transportation of VRT students.[122] In June 1966, the school district presented a desegregation plan to relieve overcrowding in the Central Area schools. In an attempt to avoid mandatory reassignment, 'cross-bussing and forced mixing,' the focus of the plan was placed on overcrowding, and not on race.[123] The district's proposal was to be studied by a 100-member citizen committee appointed by the school board, but the committee report was not due until the summer of 1967.

The turning point for the Central District came with Stokely Carmichael's first visit and speech at Garfield High School on April 19, 1967. When first approached, the Seattle School Board rejected a request made by the local chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) for the rental of the high school auditorium for the

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[118] 'Seattle Blacks View Decades of Change', *The Seattle Times*, February 26, 1985.
[119] *Ibid.*
[120] Pieroth, 'With All Deliberate Caution', p. 57.
[121] *Ibid.*
[122] The funds were used to purchase city bus tokens or bus passes.
[123] Pieroth, 'With All Deliberate Caution', p. 57.

purpose of Carmichael's speech. The district feared the auditorium would 'be used to advocate violence'.[124] A legal battle ensued and the Superior Court of the State of Washington for King County eventually overturned the denial and ordered the school district to issue a permit. An estimated 4,000 residents and students crowded into the school auditorium to hear Carmichael speak, loudspeakers were hooked up outside so the overflow could listen. As chairperson of SNCC, Carmichael's impassioned speech emphasised racial pride; he also attacked civil rights moderates, saying, 'Integration is meaningful only to a small chosen class. The fight is against white supremacy and that's where the fight has always been'. To accept integration as a social goal, Carmichael believed, would reinforce the idea that 'white is automatically superior' and 'black is by definition inferior'.[125] Black oppression was seen as a class, not a race issue. Carmichael sought to raise the black consciousness by rallying for self-determination and self-help in Seattle's black community. Carmichael spoke amidst a chorus of cheers. While Carmichael's message frightened many white residents, Reverend Adams attempted to quiet the fears: 'I pray you endure, with Negrolike patience, the emergence of this new force which can enrich and bring new dimensions of equality in our society'.[126]

In the aftermath of the speech, Carmichael's emphasis on racial pride was viewed as a 'set-back for integrationists'.[127] Sandra Gibson, a junior at Garfield High School said, 'Becoming a transfer was the thing to do . . . but now it isn't since Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael started making a lot of noise'.[128] As a result, Seattle's racial transfer programme suffered with just 30 VRT students registered at Garfield High during the

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[124] *Ibid.*
[125] Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power, The Politics of Liberation in America*, (New York, 1967), p. 54.
[126] 'Seattle Blacks View Decades of Change', *The Seattle Times*, February 26, 1985.
[127] 'Seattle Blacks View Decades of Change', p. 58.
[128] Susan Schwartz, 'Most Don't Want to Be Shoved Around', *The Seattle Times*, March 24, 1968.

1966-67 school year. In an effort to revive the VRT programme, the Seattle School District began providing transportation, and receiving state reimbursement, for all elementary school students who participated during the 1967-68 school year. Mandatory busing drew strong opposition within the black community and the plan quickly came to an end. Mandatory busing was found to be an expensive,[129] unpopular and unproven remedy to *de facto* segregation, a solution that only served to break down 'the traditional link between neighborhood and school'.[130] The busing of students to facilitate school integration was reported to 'result in poorer educational standards for both ghetto and middle class children'.[131]

As a defence against school integration, white residents continued to move to outlying neighbourhoods. A survey of the Central District found that the 'median income for its black residents' was higher than for the district's white residents 'because many of the blacks are in their prime working years, whereas most of the whites are old and retired'.[132] As the survey indicates, white families were choosing to leave the city, a trend that resulted in a decrease in the total enrolment figures for the public schools in Seattle. Between 1966 and 1969 the number of students enrolled in the Seattle Public Schools declined from 94,949 to 89,225. Flagging enrolment meant a decrease in tax revenues received by the Seattle School District. Faced with desegregation issues, financial strains and curriculum concerns, the atmosphere at Garfield and within the Seattle School District

[129] At great expense, the Seattle-King County Office of Economic Opportunity brought in dozens of buses for use by the VRT programme.
[130] John Finley Scott and Lois Heyman Scott, 'Integrated Schools, Are They Doomed?', *Seattle Magazine*, (June 1968), p. 51.
[131] *The Seattle Post Intelligencer*, February 25, 1970. In 1964-65, Garfield High was 52.1 percent black. The percentage of black students attending Garfield realised a steady climb reaching 56 percent in 1966, by 1969 this percentage had increased to 69. For further discussion of the criteria for integration, see pp. 241-2 below.
[132] Scott and Scott, 'Integrated Schools Are They Doomed?', p. 36.

was growing tense as the late 1960s approached. Indeed, on December 25, 1967, the headline for the *Seattle Times* read, 'Sword of Damocles hangs over Garfield High'.[133]

Repeated calls for accelerated integration in the Seattle area served to further isolate the black community in the city's Central District. Mayor Wesley Uhlman developed an inter-district desegregation plan in 1967-68; the mayor later recalled there was 'some interest in Seattle, but none from Mercer Island[134]; in fact, out-and-out hostility'.[135] Mayor Uhlman's 'interest in public education in Seattle was a personal and a professional concern', since the mayor's two sons attended public school, and both participated in the voluntary racial transfer programme.[136] Seattle's long history of racial apathy became more evident during the mid-1960s as residents faced head-on the moral challenges associated with the civil rights movement. As reported in the *Seattle Magazine* in 1968, Washington Park, one of the city's highest-income residential areas, lies within the highly integrated Garfield school district. However, 'most of its affluent parents make use of the local private schools'.[137] As John and Lois Scott argue, '. . . the family is the most conservative of all social institutions, the slowest to change in an otherwise rapidly changing society. In Seattle today [1968] many parents may be liberal political thinkers; yet a liberal parent is almost a contradiction in terms'.[138] Anxious for their child's success, Washington Park parents felt the private schools offered 'lots of children of professional people for our kids to associate with'.[139] During a 1981 interview the former mayor commented, 'Any time you are discussing desegregation, you are going to alienate

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[133] *The Seattle Times*, December 25, 1967.
[134] Mercer Island is in the middle of Lake Washington; the island is a predominantly wealthy white area east of Seattle - a ten-minute drive from Garfield High.
[135] As quoted in Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, p. 95.
[136] *Ibid.*
[137] Scott and Scott, 'Integrated Schools Are They Doomed?', p. 36.
[138] 'Integrated Schools Are They Doomed?', pp. 34-35.
[139] 'Integrated Schools Are They Doomed?', p. 36.

a certain number of people in white neighborhoods – places where individuals have moved to escape these kinds of problems. To these people, the solution to the problem [of segregation] is to be left alone'.[140] As one Seattleite observed, 'white liberals who eloquently profess concern for the crisis of school integration seldom live in areas where integration is likely'.[141] Officials, who were willing to publicly address the issue of desegregation, indeed took a political risk in doing so.

The purely nominal gains in school desegregation led frustrated Garfield parents to go 'to war' with the Seattle School District in early 1968.[142] Black parents railed against Garfield's guidance counsellors who were widely suspected of reserving 'the college-prep courses for Japanese and Jewish students', and who routinely assigned black students to 'unnecessary study halls and obsolete vocational courses'.[143] During a Race Relations Forum, committee members described honours and regular classes at Garfield High School as the 'white and black classes'.[144] As the district reported, white students made up an overwhelming majority in honours classes, with black students over-represented in the regular classes. It was further noted that honours classes received more time and preparation from their teachers, while students in the regular classes 'received a continuous set of worksheets'.[145] Student expectations were also very different. Honours students were 'made to feel better and smarter than regular students', students in regular classes were made to 'feel less important, and are assumed to be less motivated'.[146] With respect to teacher expectations, the forum also revealed that teachers did not have the

[140] Siqueland, *Without a Court Order,* p. 97.
[141] 'Integrated Schools Are They Doomed?', p. 51.
[142] John Finley Scott and Lois Heyman Scott, 'White Racism in Seattle', *Seattle Magazine* (June 1968), p. 53.
[143] *Ibid.*
[144] Seattle School District, Race Relations Forum, Topic 3, 'Honors Versus Regular Classes' (Seattle, 1968), p.9.
[145] *Ibid.*
[146] *Ibid.*

same level of expectations for academic achievement for black students as they did for their white students. Many students who attended the Race Relations Forum expressed concern that some of their teachers harboured 'negative racial attitudes', and many felt very hesitant about challenging teachers for fear of retaliation.[147] The Forum suggested there existed a discernible amount of racial segregation within Garfield High. In sum, the academic programme structure at Garfield was considered to have been 'compatible to a caste system', which led to a 'school within a school'.[148]

Racial segregation within Garfield was also evident in the school's extra curricular activities. Throughout the mid-1960s the yearbooks reveal the majority of teachers at Garfield were white; students who earned scholastic awards and those that held positions in student government were, almost without exception, either ethnically white or Asian. By the early to mid-1960s, Garfield's extra curricular clubs and athletic programmes had become highly segregated; the basketball and baseball teams were all black, whereas only white students participated in the tennis, golf, swimming, ski and bicycle clubs, as well as cheerleading and honour society. The majority of students participating in football and baseball were African American; the cross-country team was ethnically mixed, as was the Girls Club. The Boys Club was again all white.

Garfield High School's basic philosophy of education was further called into question by a University of Washington thesis. The 'Negro Transfer Student' study found that those black students who chose to transfer out of Garfield did exceptionally well both academically and socially in their host high schools. Most of the transfer students

[147] Seattle School District, Race Relations Forum, Topic 4, 'Quality of Education' (Seattle, 1968), p. 11.
[148] Scott and Scott, 'White Racism in Seattle', p. 52.

attended either Ballard High School or Roosevelt High School, located in predominantly white north Seattle neighbourhoods. The study was restricted to 43 African American students in the 11th grade at Garfield High. When asked the reason for changing schools, the majority of the transfer students noted, 'better study atmosphere due to less socializing'.[149] Fifty-one percent of transfers expected better educational opportunities, and 55 percent preferred their new high school peers. The study revealed that the majority of transfer students had strong self-images, were more independent of counsellors for personal reasons, and had higher participation rates in clubs and school organisations. Despite the benefits of transferring out of Garfield, the VRT programme continued to be unpopular amongst black high school students in the Central District. Black students who volunteered to transfer to white schools were subjected to a backlash; their black peers considered most 'Oreo cookies' or 'Uncle Toms'.[150]

To help determine the effects of student ethnicity, sex, and socioeconomic status on achievement levels, all sophomore students at Garfield were required to sit for the five-hour Comprehensive High School Battery of the Metropolitan Achievement Test in October 1966 and May 1967. Approximately 510 sophomore students out of 550 took the test.[151] The data indicated that there had been a marked racial difference in the placement and achievement levels between white and non-white students at Garfield High. The study found that Honours Geometry was 69 percent white and 12 percent African

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[149] Loring L. Cannon, William L. Getz, Hannie Hang-Yee Lee, Michael Page, David J.L. Smith, and M. Corinne Vondassow, 'The Negro Transfer Student: His Attitudes, Motivations and Experiences' (unpublished Master of Social Work thesis, University of Washington, 1966).

[150] Marty Loken, 'The Onlookers - Most Don't Want to Be Shoved Around', *The Seattle Times*, March 24, 1968.

[151] Seattle School District, Research Office Report, 'The Effects of Student Ethnicity, Sex, and Socioeconomic Status on Achievement Levels in Seattle High Schools' (Seattle, 1967), pp. 97-98. Of the 550, approximately 15 were unable to take the test due to illness, family emergency, etc., approximately 25 were 'test evaders', and another 25 failed to complete the test. Citywide, 83 percent of the city's 532 African American tenth graders took the Achievement Test whereas 96 percent of the Asian students sat for the test.

American, General Mathematics was 78 percent African American and 14 percent white.[152] Thirty-two percent of Garfield's sophomore class was registered for General Mathematics, a course that focused on basic computational skills, whilst 19 percent were not enrolled in a mathematics course at all. The scores of both groups were 'basically quite low and the differences were relatively small'.[153] In the advanced sciences, 66 percent of the students were white, and 16 percent were African American. Attendance in the general sciences was 84 percent African American and 12 percent white. The test results revealed a high degree of correlation between the trends in mathematics and the sciences with that experienced in the language arts classes. Courses in special education and remedial reading were 90 percent African American and three percent white. The Planning and Research Department, however, found no 'evidence whatsoever of any minority group bias' in course level assignments by teachers at Garfield.[154] The survey also found that in some subjects, notably the Language Arts, student test scores showed retrogression from October to May and in most cases, students showed losses relative to 'expected yearly progress rates'.[155]

The Central Area Civil Rights Committee stepped in with an 11-Point Proposal for the improvement of the Central Area schools. After several delays, the Central Area Civil Rights Committee made public their proposal on March 6, 1968.[156] By the time a vote was sought, the 100-member committee had dwindled to 58-members and, following a

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[152] Seattle School District, Seattle Public Administration and Service Center, Planning and Research Department, 'Garfield High School Tenth Grade Achievement Test Score Changes by Phase and Group in School Year 1966-67' (Seattle, 1968), p. 8.
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] Seattle School District, 'Garfield High School Tenth Grade Achievement Test Score Changes', p. 3.
[155] Seattle School District, 'Garfield High School Tenth Grade Achievement Test Score Changes', p. 26.
[156] By July 1967, the 100-member committee had dwindled to 58 members, 39 of which voted in favour of the committee report.

stormy session, 39-members of the Committee voted in favour of the proposal. The report recommended:

1. Horace Mann Elementary School was to be closed.

2. Washington Junior High School was to no longer serve as a feeder school for Garfield High School.

3. The student population at Madrona Elementary School was to be reduced for the purpose of making it a demonstration school in cooperation with the University of Washington's Department of Education.

4. The student population at Garfield was to be reduced from 1,600 to 1,200, of whom 300 were to be white students compulsorily transferred into Garfield.

5. In all of the above instances, African American teachers and staff must be incorporated into the district-wide school system so that there will be no job loss.

6. A call for the development of continuous progress centres, the first one to be placed in the Central Area.

7. The curriculum was to be revised to include study on the heritage and contribution of minority groups in American life.

8. The Seattle Public Schools were to immediately place more African Americans in leadership positions, such as principals, vice-principals, administrators and administrative assistants throughout the district.

9. Immediate formation of a citywide committee for quality multiracial education.

10. The next vacancy on the Seattle School Board was to be filled by a qualified African American.

11. Recognition of African American heroes and leaders should be acknowledged by the declaration of a Frederick Douglass Day as an official school holiday.

The first significant change in graduation requirements since 1956 occurred in the Seattle School District in 1967-68. The result was a dramatic shift in subject area emphasis. The push to improve educational rigour during the Cold War period had seemed to have the opposite affect at Garfield High. What had been measurably strengthened post-Sputnik was the schools' offerings in the vocational, physical education and home economic departments. As the 1960's progressed, the overall percentage of required credits for graduation that were to be devoted to electives and study in vocational, physical education and home economic subject areas increased. In 1960, 31 percent of the required credits for high school graduation were to be fulfilled by elective coursework; by 1968 this figure had increased to 50 percent. In the late 1950s, ten percent of the required credits for graduation were to be fulfilled by classes in the vocational, physical education and home economic departments. By 1968, this figure had increased to 19 percent. The increase in credits required in the elective and vocational departments was accompanied by a decrease in the number of credits devoted to academic study. In 1960, 51 percent of the total credits for graduation at Garfield were to be fulfilled by academic coursework.[157] By 1968 students were required to complete just 31 percent of their classes in academic subject areas. In 1960, Garfield High School offered 120 courses in the non-academic subject areas. By 1968, Garfield was offering 168 non-academic classes, a figure that represents a 40 percent increase.[158] In the drive to develop the model comprehensive high school, Garfield's academic excellence was sacrificed.

In 1968, Garfield High School's student body was 58 percent black, 29 percent white and 13 percent Asian. With dropout rates at an all-time high and attendance rates reaching

[157] Academic coursework is designated as study in the language arts, social studies, mathematics or science.
[158] In 1960, Garfield High was offering 63 academic classes. In 1968, 66 classes were devoted to academic study. By 1971 this figure had decreased to just 51.

an all-time low, the school was scrambling to keep order and kids in school. One picture of Garfield showed it beset with 'crime-ridden hallways where outsiders roamed, selling dope, assaulting and robbing students'.[159] As a graduate of Garfield in 1970, one former student remembered the importance of 'basic urban survival skills'; 'you didn't flash money or jewelry, you were friendly, and you treated people with respect and avoided walking into potentially dangerous situations'.[160] Within one year, the dropout rate at Garfield increased from 16.9 percent in 1967-68 to 23 percent in 1968-69.

The organisations that essentially served as the backbone to desegregation at Garfield High and the Central Area schools; the Central Area Committee on Civil Rights, Seattle Urban League, NAACP, Central Area Motivation Program, CORE, and the Black Ministerial Alliance, all made dramatic turnabouts in early 1968 and discontinued active support of desegregation in the Seattle School District. All of the organisations officially withdrew their support because there was not a similar effort in the white community. The inconveniences associated with desegregation were not being borne equally. As a result, the Central Area School Council began to discourage black students from participating until an equal numbers of white students took part in the VRT programme.[161] As stated by Siqueland, 'The debate over desegregation during the sixties brought out fundamental philosophical divisions within Seattle's relatively small black population'.[162] As tensions increased, the patterns of leadership in the Central District shifted. Civil rights moderates were increasingly viewed as part of the white establishment and thereby considered ineffectual agents for change. Organisations such as the Central Area Civil Rights Committee and the Seattle Urban League advocated an 'integrationist' philosophy; the

[159] James C. Lewis, 'Scary Picture of Garfield Painted', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 3, 1970, p. 20.
[160] Bill Kossen, 'The Ones Who Stayed', *The Seattle Times*, August 20, 2000.
[161] Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, p. 22.
[162] Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, p. 14.

emerging Black Power movement was opposed to this form of desegregation, and advocated black separatism. The Black Power movement called for separate but equal black-controlled schools, a demand that echoes Carmichael's conviction that the 'American educational system continues to reinforce the entrenched values of the society through the use of words'.[163] In 1968, the Black Power movement established itself in Seattle and the Black Panther Party headquarters was located just blocks from Garfield. The Seattle Panthers were organised into a paramilitary unit to monitor police activities and combat police harassment in the Central District.[164] Students at Garfield could easily identify with the leading members of the Black Panther Party who were on average 19 to 21 years of age. As the Party's influence grew, confrontations at Garfield turned violent. In separate instances teachers were injured and students were often sent home early as violence took over the school. Garfield's principal, Frank Hanawalt resigned in 1967 saying he felt 'used up'.[165] Hanawalt took a post as principal of Franklin High School located just a few miles south of Garfield. The suicide of a popular Garfield teacher intensified the mood.

The teacher turnover rate at Garfield jumped from 39 percent in 1964 to 55 percent in 1968. The average turnover in the Seattle public schools during the 1968-69 academic year was approximately 25 percent.[166] By the fall of 1971, 87 percent of the teachers who

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[163] Carmichael and Hamilton, *Black Power,* p. 37.

[164] Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community*, p. 221. Taylor also notes that the Seattle Panthers ran candidates, E.J. Brisker and Curtis Harris, for the 37th District legislative seats in the 1968 elections, 'not to win but to educate the black community on their platform of full employment, decent housing, education for black people, military exemption for black males, and justice for all'. *Ibid.*

[165] David Brewster, 'Shall Franklin High Overcome?', *Seattle Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 72 (March 1970), p. 15.

[166] The Seattle area rate of labour turnover in manufacturing averaged between 3.6 and 5.0 percent between 1958 and 1968. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (Washington, D.C., 1968). During the same period, the national rate of labour turnover on manufacturing payrolls averaged between 3.6 and 4.4 percent. U.S. Department of Labor, *Handbook of Labor Statistics* (Washington, D.C., 1975).

taught at Garfield in 1967 had resigned, retired or transferred to another school. Seattle area newspapers carried headlines such as, 'Central Area School Crisis to Be Aired', and 'Garfield Teachers Tell Why Staff Members Leave Jobs'. At the end of the 1968 school year, 33 Garfield teachers requested a transfer because they were 'frustrated in their effort to accomplish any meaningful teaching'; their attention was given to 'putting out little fires, facing some crisis nearly every month and making a very little dent in the progress of education'.[167] The teachers also agreed that 'new techniques and vastly increased financial support' was needed in order to better educate minority students from low-income families with both parents working, and who have a long history of job and other discriminations.[168]

The specific challenges associated with teaching at an inner-city high school came to the fore during a 1970 public hearing over the firing of a Garfield High social studies teacher, Mrs. Sally Pangborn. The Seattle School Board advised Pangborn in April that they did not intend to rehire her for the next school year because of 'failure to maintain good order and discipline' and 'substandard teaching performance'.[169] Pangborn chose to appeal the board's decision and requested a public hearing to determine if the school board had sufficient cause not to renew her teaching contract. During a public hearing, Pangborn was asked to testify before the Seattle School Board and further justify her teaching style that placed emphasis on 'rap' sessions. Dr. Roland Patterson, a Central Area school administrator testified, 'its all right to rap, discuss things, but its not going to

[167] Hilda Bryant, '33 Frustrated Teachers Ask to Leave Garfield', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 28, 1969.
[168] Letter submitted to *The Seattle Times*, signed by 50 Garfield High School staff members, 'Teachers Focus on Staff Crisis', April 21, 1969.
[169] Richard Simmons, 'Basic Teaching Philosophies at Issue in Pangborn Case', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 4, 1970, p. 5.

do the students any good when they get out and are judged on their ability to perform'.[170] Pangborn's classes were noted to be 'fluid and unstructured' with 'students wandering about the room at will'.[171] The head of Garfield's Social Studies Department, Robert Goldstein, felt Pangborn's classes contained little factual content, and her class in U.S. history was found to resemble an 'encounter session' or 'sensitivity session'.[172] Pangborn defined her intent as 'teaching students the form and content of democracy within the framework of the Bill of Rights'.[173] Pangborn's aim was to create a classroom environment, which put to use the liberties most associated with the First Amendment, namely the freedom of speech and of the press. During the investigation it was revealed that some of Pangborn's students were reported absent 20 to 30 times per 46-day school session, yet earned Cs and Bs in her class. The Pangborn Case made headline news in Seattle. Following three-days of testimony, the School Board upheld their earlier decision to fire Sally Pangborn.

The issues raised at Pangborn's public hearing involved not only the teacher herself, but also brought into question the basic philosophy of education at Garfield High and the Seattle area schools. A reporter for the *Seattle Magazine* visited classes at neighbouring Franklin High School also finding, 'unstructured conversations' in the classroom that 'came to no point'.[174] Teachers at Franklin further displayed 'an annoying unwillingness to correct mistakes, to bring pertinent facts to bear, or to insist on definitions . . . some,

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[170] *Ibid.*
[171] *Ibid.*
[172] *Ibid.*
[173] *Ibid.*
[174] Brewster, 'Shall Franklin High Overcome?', p. 18.

like the one who wrote "kerysmatic" and "coersion" on the blackboard, just can't spell'.[175] In the words of Garfield senior Alison Magraw,

> . . . Deadened by the roar of the educational grindstone,
> Fat, happy and bursting with educational babyfood,
> Agreeing that the minds of the young masticate
> Well below full capacity . . .[176]

Following the Pangborn Case the school district began to re-examine how best to educate the 'disadvantaged student'. To help maintain a standard of learning, insistence on factual content would now be more emphasised at Garfield High.

To help further the process of school integration and also assess the academic standards at Garfield High, the Seattle Public Schools conducted a study that profiled the white volunteer transfer student in 1968. Seventeen white students from suburban school districts, primarily located to the north and east of Seattle, chose to transfer into Garfield in 1967-68; four of who dropped out before the end of the school year. The district found that in comparison to their white classmates, the white VRT students were somewhat younger, scored much higher on standardised achievement tests, had superior GPAs, and came from predominantly professional family backgrounds.[177] During a series of interviews in 1968, white transfer students expressed their concerns and experiences at Garfield High. A junior from suburban Redmond felt 'I'm learning zilch academically [at Garfield] . . . But you learn so much here about different kinds of people'.[178] Another Redmond transfer student noted, 'Sure, they make snide remarks about the white, middle-

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[175] *Ibid.*
[176] Garfield High School, *Garfield Pen*, 1968.
[177] Seattle School District, Planning and Research Department, George Shepherd, 'Profile of White Volunteer Transferees at Garfield High School in School Year 1967-68' (Seattle, 1968).
[178] Susan Schwartz, 'You Learn So Much About People, Garfield Frees Minds, Hearts of White Transfer Students', *The Seattle Times*, May 4, 1969.

class suburbs. But they're true'.[179] A survey of white students attending high school in the outlying neighbourhoods reported many of the students 'would like to transfer or would like to make friends with Negroes, but . . . parents pressure them not to'.[180] As the racial climate at Garfield was changing, problems arose and school spirit deteriorated. The VRT programme had suffered another serious setback.

At the eleventh-hour, the Seattle School District began providing transportation for all students participating in the VRT programme beginning in the fall of 1968. The district had high hopes this would encourage white students to transfer into Garfield. In the 1968-69 school year, 100 black students volunteered to attend predominantly white schools in the city's North End; only two white students transferred into the Central District in 1968, one of whom was the son of the principal at Garfield High. Under the weight of a failing VRT programme, the Seattle School District proposed to close Garfield High School in 1968, feeling the 'burden of integration should be shared by all'.[181] The tide of opposition to the school's closure was unexpectedly strong. Both Seattle dailies disapproved of the school district's plan and, in a show of support, both newspapers ran a series of articles that lauded Garfield's rich tradition as a 'model of integration'.

The controversy was front-page news, for many residents felt 'if they close Garfield High, they would close the Central District'.[182] Having served as the community centre for 45 years, Garfield was considered a 'voice of power for the black people' in Seattle.[183] Many residents also felt that the proposed closure placed the burden of school integration

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[179] *Ibid.*
[180] Mike Parks, 'The Participants: It's What You Get, Not Where You Get It', *The Seattle Times*, March 24, 1968.
[181] Pieroth, 'With All Deliberate Caution', p. 59.
[182] 'Close Garfield?', *The Seattle Times*, January 24, 1968.
[183] *Ibid.*

solely on the black community. In closing Garfield, squadrons of school buses were to transport all secondary students out of the Central District. The president of the Urban League feared busing only African American students would lead to increased resistance and resentment within the black community. As one Garfield student noted, 'Somehow I feel it would be OK to make whites transfer into the Central Area. My reasoning is that I think it's about time that whites had to do something about the problem'.[184] In January 1968, the School Board discussed an alternative to closing Garfield which involved a $930,000 remodelling and renovation plan that called for reducing the size of the school's enrolment from 1,600 to about 1,200 students. For the first time, the Seattle School District also gave serious consideration to mandatory reassignment of both white and black students.

Conditions in the Central District were declining rapidly as anxious residents awaited a decision by the Seattle School Board. The assassination of civil rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on April 4, 1968, sparked a wave of violence in Seattle. In the aftermath, 10,000 residents marched in anger to the Seattle Center, hurling firebombs and throwing rocks towards passing cars. Walt Crowley, a political commentator and social activist, recalled witnessing Central Area youths pelting buses and cars with rocks, and setting fire to four local businesses.[185] As the violence continued, the School Board unanimously adopted a plan on April 10, 1968 that supported the renovation and reorganisation of Garfield High.[186]

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[184] *Ibid.*
[185] Crowley, *Rites of Passage*, p. 114.
[186] Mandatory racial assignment was not instituted in the Seattle School District until 1977.

Despite the School Board's concessions, tensions continued to build throughout the spring, reaching a crisis point by the time students were let out for their summer vacation in June 1968. During the summer of 1968, civil disorder was rampant in the Central District. In mid-July the city of Seattle allocated $2.3 million in federal funds to create 1,800 new jobs. Most were to be filled by minority youths.[187] Following the July 29th arrest of two leading members of the local Black Panther Party,[188] a protest rally was organised at Garfield High. As the protest turned violent, police used tear gas to control the crowd. During the course of the evening, seven police officers and two civilians were injured by sniper fire or rocks, and several police cars were also damaged. On July 31st the violence erupted anew, with police responding by arresting 69 rioters in the Central District. Over the following weeks, police helicopters circled over the Central District night after night, as squadrons of police cars patrolled the streets below.

The ethos at Garfield High School in 1958 and that experienced by students at Garfield in 1968 were worlds apart. In 1968, one Garfield student wrote, 'If fear is foolish, than I am the greatest fool that has ever been'.[189] With increasing regularity, students faced hallway assaults, drug dealers and restroom robberies. The school district reported ten 'serious' assaults on campus in 1968. The school was depicted in the local news media as an increasingly dangerous place. For many young Seattleites, life inside Garfield mirrored their experiences on the streets of Seattle. Nancy King, a junior at Garfield High wrote:

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[187] Crowley, *Rites of Passage*, p. 118.
[188] Police seized a stolen typewriter during a raid of the local Black Panther office. Aaron Dixon and Carl Harris were arrested for theft. Earlier on July 1st, Aaron Dixon, Larry Gossett, and Carl Miller were convicted of unlawful assembly, charges that stemmed from a March sit-in at Franklin High School.
[189] Becky Swanson, *Garfield Pen*, 1967.

Inside the Mind No. 1

loud, eerie bells chime
and horns blow ----
glass shatters
people scream,
in complete darkness,
and sheer terror
i stand in the midst
of this blind chaos,
terrified . . .
longing to run, but unable to
see where to go . . .
utter confusion
loud, discordant sounds.
all this cacophony
in the dark.
i am frightened,
confused . . .
and i know not
where to turn
when will i find sanity?[190]

In 1968, students at Garfield High School were no longer concerned with the importance of Hi-Y pins and sports jamborees; the system had failed them. For many students, open hostility, cynicism and disengagement were all that was left. Entitled, *Garfield Pep Volume 48, '69 Proof*, the 1968-69 yearbook included a memoriam to the slain civil rights leader Edwin T. Pratt, and an advisory that fully 800 students were not pictured in the school annual. This suggests that over 57 percent of the student body were absent on the scheduled picture day. Garfield students in the late 1960s were most often pictured with fists defiantly raised in the Black Power salute. Whilst other schools stayed with their 'shop-worn' Sousa marches, in the late 1960s Garfield adopted the jazzy Henry Mancini hit, *Peter Gunn*, as the school's fight song.

[190] *Garfield Pen,* 1967.

The school could not have received worse publicity than the *Seattle Times* photo of police in full riot gear, firing tear gas at students and demonstrators outside Garfield High in the spring of 1969. Once considered a model of integration and a shining example of academic excellence, Garfield served as the epicentre for the civil rights movement in the Seattle area; a movement that had turned militant during the late 1960s. As a result, the exodus of students was on. In the 1968-69 school year, Garfield's student body was 1,386. By the end of the fall quarter 1969, Garfield's student body had dropped to 1,090; the daily attendance figure was often around 600. Students of all races were either transferring out, moving out, or dropping out of Garfield High.

Chapter 3

Bellingham High School 1958-1968

Bellingham High in the late 1950s exemplifies the high school experience in a relatively small, predominantly working-class, American town; an atmosphere where Bellingham High teachers talk of politics as a 'hobby', spend an entire career teaching at Bellingham High, where discipline was a good dose of castor oil, and where students held few outside jobs, other than mowing lawns or babysitting. The class of 1956 likened the 'wide, wide world' to a forest.[1] From the protective enclave of Bellingham High, the graduates of 1956 looked to the future with some trepidation.

The general sense of ease ended in 1957. In the aftermath of the Soviet launch of Sputnik I in October 1957, Americans became gripped by an 'us-versus-them' frame of mind. According to Paul Dickson, 'There's no question that the most basic fear instilled in Americans by Sputnik was fear for their lives'.[2] Following the launch, Bellingham readers awoke to a front-page article entitled 'Russia's Satellite Whirls About Earth'. In an accusatory tone, the *Bellingham Herald* stated the Soviets had chosen to launch the satellite 'at such an angle to the sun as to prevent visual observations in the free world'.[3] The satellite was further reported to be circling the globe every '96.2 minutes . . . sending

[1] Bellingham High School, *Shuksan Yearbook*, 1956.
[2] Paul Dickson, *Sputnik, The Shock of the Century* (New York, 2001), p. 116. As Dickson notes, the 'security fears were such that the United States put bombers loaded with H-bombs in the air 24 hours a day. The bombers stayed in the air 24 hours a day until they were grounded by President George Bush on September 27, 1991. Dickson, *Sputnik,* p. 111.
[3] Gardner L. Bridge, 'Russia's Satellite Whirls About Earth', *The Bellingham Herald*, October 6, 1957.

what may be messages in secret code back to its creators in the Soviet Union'.[4] As Senator Kerrey recalled, 'We didn't fear a physical invasion . . . the conflict with the Soviet Union was more like gravity; it was simply a force that influenced much of what we did and thought'.[5] The anxiety over national security prompted the Bellingham School Board to discuss civil defence at length during their regular meetings.[6] As tensions grew, 'hurry-home' drills were scheduled with increasing regularity at Bellingham High. In an atmosphere of threatened national security, school officials timed the drills and the school board later decided that transportation was not to be provided during an alert because, after many attempts, the 'buses are still too slow'.[7] In response to the growing crisis, a civil defence fallout shelter, complete with an intricate tunnel system, was built underneath Bellingham High School in 1960-61. Bellingham High was the only building in Whatcom County to be rated by the Federal Civil Defence Agency as a suitable shelter space.[8] To the residents of Bellingham and the students at Bellingham High, the Soviet threat following Sputnik was very real. In a sombre tone, the graduating class of 1962 wrote, ' . .

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[4] *Ibid.* As reported by Dickson, an editorial in the Chicago Daily News posed the ominous question to its readers, 'If [the Russians] can deliver a 184-pound "moon" into a predetermined pattern 560 miles out in space, the day is not far distant when they could deliver a death-dealing warhead onto a predetermined target almost anywhere on the earth's surface'. Dickson, *Sputnik*, p. 116.

[5] Bob Kerrey, *When I Was a Young Man: A Memoir* (New York, 2002), p. 66.

[6] As Paul Dickson argues, the anxiety felt following the launch of Sputnik was the culmination of a number of factors, including a faltering economy and a steady drop in stock prices throughout September 1957. For the first half of 1957 the nation's crime rate was the highest on record, the 1957 influenza epidemic was the worst outbreak since World War I, killing 70,000 Americans, and finally the Soviets had test-fired the first intercontinental ballistic missile six weeks prior to Sputnik. Dickson, *Sputnik*, p. 110.

[7] Bellingham School District, Bellingham School Board Minutes, November 13, 1962.

[8] The Bellingham School District designated a manager for the shelter in November 1962. The newly appointed Civil Defence Chairman approached the school board requesting the purchase of a citizens band communication system which would allow the school to receive direct radio communications through the Civil Defence broadcasting network. The system was purchased in early February 1963. The feasibility of building a second civil defence shelter at Sehome High School in Bellingham, which was scheduled for construction in 1964, was discussed. However, the Superintendent of Schools, Gordon Carter questioned, 'whether the district's primary responsibility was to construct an educational facility or a fallout shelter'. Bellingham School Board Minutes, August 27, 1963.

. in the face of today's world crisis, may Bellingham High School endure to celebrate its 50th anniversary'.[9]

The successful launch of Sputnik and the presumed threat to the American way of life sparked a renewed awareness with respect to the role and responsibility of public education in a democratic state. In the rhetoric of the day, a lack of educational rigour in the American public high school was to blame for Soviet advances. The attack on Life Adjustment education was vehement.[10] According to the critics, the Life Adjustment approach to secondary education had gutted the public schools.[11] More than ever, progressive educators were seen as charlatans, content with being 'wet nurses, instructors of sex education, medical advisors, consultants to the lovelorn, umpires in the battle of the vertical versus the horizontal stroke in tooth-brushing and professors of motor-vehicle operation'.[12] The education crisis required a return to academic 'basics' with emphasis on detailed knowledge and skills.[13] Efforts to improve the standard of academics in the American high school received support through the National Defense Education Act of 1958, which provided for graduate fellowships in the areas of science, mathematics,

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[9] Bellingham High School, *Shuksan Yearbook*, 1962.

[10] Lawrence Cremin argues the attack on the Life Adjustment movement was not an isolated phenomenon, but rather was the culmination of a larger crisis in American education that had been developing since the early 1940s. Cremin noted, 'the mosaic of problems of buildings, budgets, and enrolments created by the war: few schools had been built since 1941; teachers had deserted the profession in droves; inflation was rampant, and the first of a flood of "war babies" began to enter elementary grades as early as 1946'. Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School, Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957* (New York, 1962), p. 338. Less visible was the increasing demand for a skilled and intelligent workforce through the 1950s.

[11] As quoted in Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, p. 345. Following the success of Sputnik and the attack on the Life Adjustment movement, some educators defended the American school system on the grounds that it 'served the needs of all people and did not cater to an elite of gifted students as was the case in Europe and the USSR'. However, as Henry Perkinson argues, '. . . the American public was in no mood for this kind of argument'. Perkinson, *The Imperfect Panacea*, p. 215.

[12] The *Scientific Monthly* (January 1951), pp. 32-41, as quoted in Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade, American Education 1945-1980* (New York, 1983), pp. 72-73.

[13] Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade*, p. 114.

foreign language, counselling and guidance, and educational technology.[14] Guided by the model presented by James Conant in *The American High School Today*, school districts in Washington State began conducting self-assessments throughout 1959 and 1960.

Following lengthy discussions, the Bellingham School Board completed its own self-assessment in 1959.[15] Several changes were initiated at Bellingham High almost immediately. Beginning with the new class entering high school in the fall of 1960, Bellingham High School began issuing two types of high school certificates, the standard and the terminal diploma. The standard diploma was to include three major programme areas: college preparatory, general and technical. To receive a standard diploma students were required to earn 38 credits for graduation. With the issuance of the standard diploma, graduation requirements were strengthened in the areas of English, social studies, mathematics and foreign language. Students following the college preparatory course were now required to complete four years of English (8 credits), three years of social studies (6 credits), one year of a lab science (2 credits), two years of mathematics (4 credits), two years of physical education (4 credits), two years of a foreign language (4 credits), as well as ten credits in elective studies.[16] The terminal diploma required students to complete just 16 credits, ten of which could be transferred from coursework completed in the ninth grade. The terminal diploma was to be given to students who were unable to

[14] As JoAnne Brown argues, interest in civil defence following Sputnik allowed educators 'to demonstrate the importance of the nation's schools to national security', thereby justifying federal aid to education permitted through the NDEA of 1958. JoAnne Brown, ' "A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb": Civil Defense in American Public Education, 1948-1963', *Journal of American History*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (June 1988), p. 70.

[15] There appears to have been no formal or systematic means of evaluating the curriculum at Bellingham High. The board simply went down a general list of recommendations outlined by James Conant and compared the two.

[16] To complete the standard diploma with emphasis in 'general' studies, students were required to take 3 ½ years of English, 2 ½ years of social studies, 1 year of science, 1 year of homemaking for girls, 2 years of physical education, and 1 year of mathematics. The standard diploma, with emphasis on technical studies, was never initiated at Bellingham High. School officials thought it more prudent to continue working closely with the Bellingham Technical School in order to satisfy the needs of the vocational student.

fulfil the local and state requirements of a standard high school diploma. To earn a terminal diploma, students must have completed two years of 'special' English (4 credits), two and a half years of 'special' courses in social studies (5 credits), two years of physical education (4 credits), one year of homemaking for girls (2 credits), plus one elective credit. Study in the sciences and mathematics were elective for the student pursuing a terminal diploma. The Bellingham School Board outlined the advantages and disadvantages of offering a dual diploma system. The eight advantages were:

1. Students incapable of completing high school work satisfactorily will not be given the same diplomas as students who have fulfilled local and state requirements.
2. On entering the ninth grade, prospective college-bound students will have a clearer statement of a definite programme they must follow.
3. It has the advantage of ample opportunity for electives.
4. People outside the teaching profession might be better able to interpret the meaning of a high school transcript.
5. Students might be more easily channelled into the courses for which they are fitted and the courses which they will need for their particular role in life.
6. This system might foster the future development of a technical programme to meet a growing need.
7. Major fields of study may be strengthened.
8. It permits a more honest appraisal of student's actual accomplishments in high school.

The disadvantages to the dual diploma system were further noted as:

1. Parents will urge their children to take harder subjects than they are capable of taking and may to go any lengths to prevent their children from receiving a terminal diploma.

2. Parents may feel that the two-diploma system is undemocratic and that a terminal diploma has a social stigma.

3. Some of the terminal diploma graduates will still try college.

4. Class distinction or a form of snobbery might develop.[17]

As the list indicates, the advantages were academic in nature and the disadvantages were associated with the psychological cost of segregating students. Once again, the latter took precedence. In response to public pressure, the Bellingham School District discontinued the dual diploma system as the spirit of equality of opportunity began to take root in the ethos of American life during the mid-1960s.

Following the district's self-evaluation, changes were also made to Bellingham High's honour roll requirements. In 1961, the high school faculty Honour Roll Committee recommended that all students with a 3.5 grade point average or better be listed on the honour roll, but no further distinction was to be made within the list.[18] Consideration was also given to rating academic versus non-academic grades, but no decision was made, although grades earned in physical education classes would no longer be included when calculating a student's grade point average.[19] Reflecting Conant's predilection towards the academically talented, the top five percent of students at Bellingham High were allowed to sit for the Merit Scholarship exam without cost.[20] The School Board discussed 'grouping children of like ability,' however no attempts were made to reintroduce programme tracking at Bellingham High. The School Board also received a request from the State Board of Education in July 1959 asking for an 'inventory of the academically able

[17] Bellingham School Board Minutes, February 23, 1960.
[18] Distinctions such as Magna Cum Laude, Cum Laude etc. were no longer made at Bellingham High.
[19] Bellingham School Board Minutes, October 1961.
[20] All other participants were required to pay $1.00.

students' at Bellingham High School. 'It was not clearly understood what was meant by this request', thus the School Board did not initiate any immediate action.[21] Given this response, it becomes questionable whether any of the school board members in Bellingham had read James Conant's much-publicised book.

The significance of these changes can only be really appreciated by a consideration of the values and curriculum of the school in the mid to late 1950s. In the late 1950s, Bellingham School District stated the high school objective as, 'good health, personal appearance, Epicurus and the importance of friends, and finally to cultivate a good mind to make yourself interesting to others [sic]'.[22] In keeping with the Life Adjustment approach to secondary education, social, vocational and personal development all rated higher in importance over academics in separate Bellingham School District surveys and policy statements throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. In a survey conducted in 1958, the school district attempted to ascertain 'What kind of school is Bellingham High School?' The essence of the district's own rating scale centred on four questions: '1. Are its members loyal in every relation of school life? 2. Is it a friendly school? 3. Is there a pleasant atmosphere about the building? 4. Does it rank high in scholarship?'[23] The Bellingham School District fully embraced the Life Adjustment programme, which imbued the entire school curriculum with practical, utilitarian knowledge designed to 'fit the happy individual into the peaceful group'.[24]

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[21] Bellingham School Board Minutes, July 14, 1959. For the 'academic inventory', see Appendix 1, Conant's Recommendation 11, p. 338.
[22] Bellingham School District, Bellingham 'B' Book (Bellingham, 1958).
[23] Bellingham School Board Minutes, February 25, 1958.
[24] Michael W. Kirst, *Who Controls Our Schools?, American Values in Conflict* (New York, 1984), p. 38.

In 1958, Bellingham High operated on the semester system. Students attended six class periods per day beginning at 8:00 am. Each period was 55 to 60 minutes in length, with a 40-minute lunch break, and the final bell rang at 3:15 pm, totalling a 7 ¼ hour school day. Only 'exceptionally good students' were permitted to take six subjects with parental approval and by special arrangement with the high school principal.[25] All other students were required to take five subjects plus a study hall each day. As Edgar Friedenberg observed, 'High school classes emphasize the importance of punctuality by beginning at regular but uneven times like 10:43 and 11:27 . . . hardly anyone knew when this would be in clock time. The elements of the composition, the passes, the tight scheduling, the reliance on threats of detention or suspension as modes of social control, are nearly universal'.[26] The class schedule at Bellingham High School was indeed irregular. Students attended their first period class from 8:00 am to 8:55 am; second period from 9:00 am to 10:00 am; third period from 10:05 am to 11:15 am; fourth period and lunch from 11:20 am to 1:10 pm; fifth period from 1:10 pm to 2:10 pm and sixth from 2:15 pm until 3:15 pm. To help students make a smooth and speedy transition between classes, a red and green light warning system was installed in the halls at Bellingham High in 1957. In between classes the green light would indicate that students were allowed to walk in the halls. Three minutes before class was to begin, a red light would begin flashing, warning students that they needed to move along to their next class. Students were not permitted to walk in the halls during class periods unless either a teacher or school administrator had given them a pink slip. During the first ten to fifteen minutes of each third period class, roll was taken and announcements were broadcast over the school's public address system. Announcements were written and approved by the

[25] Bellingham School Board Minutes, May 21, 1959.
[26] Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *Coming of Age in America, Growth and Acquiescence* (New York, 1963), p. 33.

faculty, a practice that changed during the early 1970s. Lester Feldmann, principal of Bellingham High in 1958, stated that in order to successfully 'train young people,' it was necessary to 'establish certain systems, certain rules, and certain regulations found effective in furthering the school's desire to help the pupils'.[27] The regimented structure of high school life was recalled by Mark Edmundson who noted, 'If you'd done what you should have . . . the transition into a factory, into an office, into the marines would be something you'd barely notice; it would be painless, sheer grease'.[28]

The curriculum at Bellingham High School in the mid to late 1950s reflected the Life Adjustment approach to high school education. The school offered a structured course requirement schedule that included very few electives, with even fewer academic electives. In the late 1950s, Bellingham High offered 86 courses to students, 44 percent of which were regarded as academic in nature.[29] As a three-year high school, Bellingham students were required to complete 32 credits for graduation. Each five-day a week class was worth one credit hour, thus it was possible to complete 36 credits in the three years. Students were, however, required to complete only 21 credits to receive their high school diploma. The disparity allowed high school students time to complete the vocational curriculum as well as the requirements necessary for a standard diploma.[30] It was therefore possible to attend high school for two years and still earn a diploma. 'Excessive credits,' those above the required 21 for graduation, were 'included in all transcripts' and

[27] Bellingham School District, Bellingham 'B' Book (1958).
[28] Mark Edmundson, *Teacher, The One Who Made the Difference* (New York, 2002), p. 5. Mark Edmundson studied at Yale University and is currently a professor of English at the University of Virginia.
[29] In 1958, Bellingham High School offered 12 vocational-technical courses, 11 business training courses, 11 English, 8 Family Relations and home economics courses, 8 mathematics, 8 music, 7 social studies, 7 art, 7 foreign language, 5 science, and 2 in physical education.
[30] Permitting students to complete their high school education whilst training at the local vocational school was another way in which graduation was made possible at Bellingham High. Alternative education also included night school and the issuance of the standard versus terminal diploma.

were considered in writing letters of recommendation.[31] Any student entering school after October 1st or leaving before May 1st could not carry more than three subjects. Students were also able to 'contract for absences' over and above the 80 percent limit if, for example, they anticipated being absent for work related reasons. In such cases, students were responsible for makeup of coursework. These provisions were made available largely because many of the students at Bellingham High in the 1950s and 1960s held jobs as seasonal fishermen. The school's willingness to accommodate both vocational education and work related responsibilities is reflective of the predominantly working-class nature of the city of Bellingham. The school district and the high school administration held close ties with the Mobil Oil Refinery (opened in 1955), pulp mill producer Georgia Pacific (1958), as well as various other industries operating in Bellingham during the post-war period.[32] Pressures were often put upon the Bellingham School Board to institute course offerings to accommodate the needs of local industry, and the Board was willing to comply.[33]

For high school graduation, students were required to complete five credits in English (2 yrs),[34] four credits in U.S. History and World Problems (1 ½ yrs),[35] two credits in science (1yr), one credit in Family Relations for boys or one credit in homemaking for girls (½yr), two credits in physical education (1yr), four credits in an elective major and 13 credits in an elective minor. Elective coursework represented 53 percent of the overall required credits for high school graduation. In 1958, students at Bellingham High were

[31] Bellingham School District, Bellingham 'B' Book (1958).
[32] The Arco Refinery opened in 1971.
[33] In one example, the Bellingham School Board 'anticipated the pool of well-educated people needed' to work at an aluminum plant that was to open in 1964. Discussion centred on the availability of vocational-technical programmes that would be of use to students and the plant. Bellingham School Board Minutes, September 17, 1964.
[34] Students were permitted to waive the Senior English class.
[35] A senior social studies course or an elective worth two credits could be substituted for the World Problems course.

not required to take mathematics. The strength of Bellingham's vocational programme reflects a national trend in secondary education. The American Council on Education deemed vocational education as 'equal in importance with reading, a second means of education that has been neglected. Young people need to learn to work'.[36] As the Bellingham School Board noted, 'Commercial fishing is one of several courses in which life adjustment for students is being made available at the present time at Bellingham High School'.[37] In addition to coursework in commercial fishing, Bellingham High also offered vocational classes in wood shop, general shop, farm shop, machine shop, auto shop, distributive education, service station attendant class,[38] business education, agriculture and family relations.

To assist the high school in the area of vocational training, the Bellingham Technical School was opened on September 4, 1957.[39] The vocational school followed the same time schedule as Bellingham High. To complete the two-year vocational programme, students attended both the vocational school and the high school for a half-day each.[40] As an alternative, students were able to complete their vocational training in one year, attending class at the vocational school for four periods each day. The Bellingham Technical School offered coursework in auto mechanics, carpentry, engineering aids, machinist, restaurant trades and sheet metal.

As late as the early 1960s, administrators at Bellingham High considered English an 'important' part of the high school curriculum because 'students needed this training to

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[36] American Council on Education, American Youth Commission, *What the High Schools Ought to Teach* (Washington D.C., 1940), p. 15.
[37] Bellingham High School, *Bellingham Beacon*, May 27, 1951.
[38] For the purpose of offering this course, the Bellingham School District rented a local gas service station.
[39] Students over 21 years of age paid a $60.00 tuition fee per semester, plus a $9.00 lab fee.
[40] In 1959, ninety-six Bellingham High School students were attending the technical school ½ days.

submit proper applications for work'.[41] In the opinion of the Bellingham School Board, it was 'first necessary to teach a vocational class and add the math and related English and other subject matter where it is needed and where the student eventually realises the need for these academic subject matter areas'.[42] Under the headline 'Vocational Training at High School Pays Off for Students', Bellingham High is reported to have 'one of the best equipped industrial arts shops in the State,' serving as many as 300 boys each school year.[43] The high school also offered a Business-Education Day each semester. The event was sponsored by the Bellingham Chamber of Commerce and allowed local businesses 'to show their wares' during the morning session, after which students were dismissed for the day at 1:00 pm.[44]

In looking at the character of Bellingham High School, a tenor of anti-intellectualism is pervasive in almost every aspect of school life. In 1958, the school district installed a new public address system at Bellingham High 'to allow students to hear the World Series and listen to music during the activity period' from 11:25 am until 11:55 am daily. Bellingham also established a merit system markedly unrelated to scholastic achievement. In the spring of each school year, students were chosen to receive an award in one of 12 categories: dancing ability, smile, sense of humour, shyness, friendliness, pep, dependability, intelligence, politeness, talent, neatness and sportsmanship. Eight of the awards dealt with personality or physical traits, three with physical ability and just one of the 12 merit awards called attention to a student's academic strength. Each month the faculty at Bellingham High nominated and chose a boy and girl-of-the-month whose picture and accomplishments were featured in the *Bellingham Beacon*. Students were

[41] Bellingham School Board Minutes, September 10, 1963.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] 'Vocational Training at High School Pays Off for Students', *The Bellingham Herald*, December 7, 1952.
[44] *Bellingham Beacon*, March 23, 1956.

chosen based on their school and community activities, their personality and citizenship.[45] At the end of each school year, the faculty at Bellingham High also selected 20 students who were voted 'most outstanding seniors'. Between 1958 and 1964, only nine percent of the 'outstanding seniors' were on the academic honour roll. As Bellingham's 'voice of democracy,' the student body president in 1956 was described as a 'likeable humorist . . . sports Gamma pin . . . BHS representative to Boy's State . . . operetta veteran . . . strums a mean bass'.[46] The structure of Bellingham High's merit system served to draw the student's attention further away from academic pursuits and scholastic excellence.

Students at Bellingham High were openly criticised for being 'smart' or even expressing interest in academic subjects. The caption under a cartoon that appeared in the *Bellingham Beacon* in 1958 typifies the general mood at Bellingham High. It read, 'He's severely handicapped in this class – He has a high I.Q'.[47] Bellingham's yearly publication, *Smoke Signals*, which featured student creative writings, failed to get off the ground in the late 1950s for lack of material. A call for student submissions appeared in the *Beacon* in October 1957. Addressed to all 'budding authors or authoresses', the article went on to classify these students into three categories, '1. the mentally unbalanced 2. daydreamers 3. stupid and unbalanced'.[48] The final edition of the *Smoke Signals* was published in the late 1950s, a booklet that largely featured blank pages and community advertisements. In 1957, a letter to the editor of the *Beacon* asked, 'During assemblies,

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[45] *Bellingham Beacon,* December 23, 1966.
[46] Bellingham High School, *Shuksan Yearbook,* 1956. The top five boys and girls at Bellingham also received merit keys at the end of each school year, giving recognition to a student's participation in after-school activities. Each extra curricular activity was given a point value, the highest being football, which earned a student six points. The senior class president earned four points and the value system continued on down to the sophomore class president, the productions manager, and the productions assistant, who all received one point. The hierarchy of points is weighted towards participation in sports and the student body organisation.
[47] *Bellingham Beacon,* April 21, 1958.
[48] *Bellingham Beacon,* October 18, 1957.

why do students always have their library books handy? Let's keep some of these books out of sight and give a little more attention to the assembly'.[49] Beginning in the early 1950s, Bellingham held an all-school spelling bee, and after 1958 the final round was broadcast over the school's public address system. In 1955, the winning word was 'psychology,' the final round included the words, 'cordial', 'prophecy', and 'patriotic'.[50] A medal was presented to the top three spellers at Bellingham High. As a student in early 1960s, Debbie Granger recalled deliberately misspelling the final word so as not to be known as a 'smart kid', a label that was akin to 'social suicide' at Bellingham High School, particularly for a girl.[51]

The spirit of anti-intellectualism was not confined to the student body. In a 1956 poll, 69 percent of parents and 61 percent of students believed 'too much homework' was being assigned at Bellingham High.[52] When asked to give their opinion on the qualities of an 'outstanding student', the faculty at Bellingham rated honesty as the most desired student characteristic, sportsmanship ranked second.[53] Deemed 'tourist guides' in the 1962 *Shuksan* yearbook, the faculty at Bellingham High were apt to consider 'thinking twice' as 'quite enough'.[54] In an article that appeared in the *Bellingham Beacon*, Larry Stephan, Social Studies Department head and later principal of Bellingham High, was asked to comment on the changes to the school's social studies curriculum, he replied, 'What's History doing? Mildewing [sic]'.[55]

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[49] *Bellingham Beacon*, November 1, 1957.
[50] *Bellingham Beacon*, May 17, 1955. The winning word in 1965 was 'cannonade'.
[51] Interview with Debbie Granger, October 18, 2000.
[52] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 19, 1956. In 1956, the school policy stated that a maximum of ½ hour of homework could be assigned for each class, with a 2 to 2 ½ hour limit for each school day.
[53] *Bellingham Beacon*, December 22, 1943.
[54] Bellingham High School, *Shuksan Yearbook*, 1962.
[55] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 6, 1967.

Congruent with a programme for Life Adjustment, the heart of the American high school in the 1950s and early 1960s can be found in the multitude of extra curricular activities available to the student body. Bellingham school administrators felt involvement in extra curricular activities would translate into interest and excellence in academic pursuits and community affairs. As a proponent of Life Adjustment education, Harl Douglas asserted in 1947 that after-school activities, 'being self-imposed and self-planned, and ordinarily self-directed . . . not only are usually carried on with more zest than most work in regular subjects' but further 'result in more permanent and more economical learning . . .'.[56] Extra curricular activities were considered an important part of the total educative experience. To participate in after-school activities a student at Bellingham must maintain a 'C' grade point average and 'possess qualities of good citizenship'.[57] Although students were allowed to join as many clubs as they wished, the rules for attendance were more stringent than the school's general attendance policy. Students were permitted three absences per semester. Failure to attend club and committee meetings over and above the maximum put a student's membership in jeopardy. In order to earn credit for class work, students were required to attend school at least 80 percent of the 180 days in an academic school year.[58] Both attendance policies were instituted to 'foster dependability'.[59] A good attendance record was considered a 'vital part of one's education and preparation for business, personal and social life'.[60] Perfect attendance certificates were presented to students during the graduation ceremonies.

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[56] Harl R. Douglas, ed., *The High School Curriculum* (New York, 1947), p. 307.
[57] Bellingham High School, Bellingham 'B' Book (1958).
[58] Previous to 1957 the general attendance policy at Bellingham High required students to maintain a 'reasonably good attendance' record for receiving a grade and full credit for class work. Bellingham School Board Minutes, February 25, 1957.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] *Ibid.*

Throughout the 1950s there were approximately 78 clubs, committees, and sports teams organised at Bellingham High School. The ethos at Bellingham during the post-war period can be defined by the school's social life. What marked the passage of time was a myriad of events that included dinner dances, musical concerts and theatrical performances, Christmas and Easter parades, letterman banquets, assemblies, fashion shows, in-school movies,[61] senior mothers tea, clothing drives, basketball tournaments and football finales. During the 36-week academic year in 1956-57, Bellingham High sponsored 50 all-school activities, a figure that does not include sports related competitions, making for a very full calendar of events.[62] In the spirit of the late 1950s, students at Bellingham High crowded into the school gym on Friday nights for 'gay social affairs' and basketball games, deemed their school 'friendly and pleasant,' earned Hi-Y pins,[63] attended What-a-Sho rehearsals, sold elevator tickets to unsuspecting sophomores, wore spirit hats on Fridays, joined the Young Democratic Club and the Friendship Committee, and honoured the 11:45 pm to 6:00 am town curfew. In a 1957 poll, as many as 94 percent of the student body participated in the extra curricular activities at Bellingham High School.[64] Reflecting the growing youth culture, renovations were undertaken in 1957 on the ground floor of Bellingham High to accommodate a new student lounge that was complete with 'snack bar, comfortable couches, and a juke box'.[65] As Ann Pearlman noted in her memoir, growing up in the 1950s 'kids did not worry about

[61] In the 1956-57 school year, Bellingham High School presented *Miracle on 34th Street, All the Kings Men,* and *Oklahoma*, in the school auditorium. Students who were members of the Projector Squad were responsible for all of the movies shown in the school.
[62] In 1958, Bellingham High School sponsored 62 sporting events during the school year, at least two per week.
[63] The official purpose of the Hi-Y Club was 'To create, maintain and extend, throughout the school and community, the high principles of Christian character'. Students earned lapel pins for community service.
[64] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 18, 1957. In his study of the American high school, John Goodlad observed that on average 51 percent of the students participated in sports teams, going up as high as 90 percent in one school. John Goodlad, *A Place Called School, Prospects for the Future* (New York, 1984), p. 77.
[65] *Bellingham Beacon*, April 1957.

grades much. It is before Sputnik and we will go to college because our parents can afford it'.[66]

The post-war prosperity and an academic programme fit for 'life adjustment', enabled students to focus more of their attention on the extra curricular aspect of high school life. Car coats and cashmere sweaters, friendship, popularity, makeup, cars and 'going steady' served as high school status symbols at Bellingham High during the late 1950s. In 1957, the 'Seven rules to popularity' at Bellingham were denoted as: '1. Be co-operative 2. Own a car 3. Play varsity football 4. Own a car 5. Dress neatly 6. Own a car, and 7. If the car is a two-tone, four-door hardtop with dual and glass paks, omit rules one, three and five'.[67] Within a climate of general affluence and sociability, one Bellingham High sophomore girl submitted a query to the 'Dear Martha' column, a regular feature of the *Bellingham Beacon*, asking 'I am 5'11" and wear braces on my teeth. I get straight A's and understand Einstein's theory of relativity. I wear glasses because I'm cross-eyed. Why can't I ever get a date?'[68] The response given by 'Dear Martha', 'get new frames'.[69] As Senator Bob Kerrey remarked, 'The only human beings crueller to each other than seventh graders are older students. God help the kid who doesn't fit in'.[70]

An inseparable part of high school life in the 1950s was the centrality of sports. Having attended Lincoln Northeast High School in the late 1950s, Kerrey noted, 'Like so many men my age, some of the most important lessons I learned in school were outdoors

[66] Ann Pearlman, *Infidelity, A Love Story* (New York, 2000), p. 34.
[67] *Bellingham Beacon*, March 1, 1957.
[68] *Bellingham Beacon*, March 14, 1958.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Kerrey, *When I Was a Young Man*, p. 59.

on the playing field'.[71] School officials in Bellingham encouraged students to participate in extra curricular athletics for they fostered 'good health recognition,' considered 'lacking in most Americans,' as well as encouraged 'right playing rules'.[72] The high school athletic programme would instil teamwork, good sportsmanship and motivate students to take pride in their school and community.

The centrality of high school sports is unmistakable in the city of Bellingham. Assistant Whatcom County Superintendent of Schools and former principal of Bellingham High School, Harlan Jackson, publicly stated in the late 1950s, 'If the big guys don't turn out for football, we won't let them play in the band'.[73] Moreover, in a review of newspaper clippings, it was not uncommon for a feature article to appear in the *Bellingham Herald* when a favoured high school football, basketball or wrestling coach stepped down, or alternatively when public pressure would build to remove the coach of a losing team. No public notice was given to any other changes in teacher assignments at Bellingham High School.

A review of the extra-duty pay scale for Bellingham High teachers reveals a schedule that is heavily weighted towards sports. The discrepancy reflects the priorities of the Bellingham School District. In 1954, the head boys' football and basketball coaches were each paid an extra salary of $600 per school year, the boys' baseball coach received $300 per year, the director of girls athletics $150 per year, the director of guidance $60 extra duty pay, and finally at the low end of the extra duty pay scale is the guidance counsellor

[71] Kerrey, *When I Was a Young Man*, pp. 77-78.
[72] Hi*Bellingham Beacon*, 1963.
[73] *Bellingham Beacon*, December 9, 1959.

who received a salary bonus of $50 per academic year.[74] The gap in extra duty salaries widened as the early 1960s progressed.[75]

During an arduous process in the early to mid-1960s, the Bellingham School Board initiated changes in the high school insurance programme with concessions made for the lowering of sports fees at the expense of a higher overall insurance rate. The School Board feared a higher insurance fee for school athletes would deter students from participating in organised sports at Bellingham High School and went to considerable trouble to find policies that did not penalise sportsmen.[76] In 1963, the Bellingham School Board received a rate of $2.75 for student insurance per academic year; senior high football athlete's coverage was quoted at $26.00 per year.[77] The Board recommended switching insurance carriers, the new rates being $2.25 for all grades and $10.00 for senior high football athletes. The rates were noted to be considerably less even though 'many of the coverages were more liberal'.[78] In 1966, the School Board carried a motion to again change student insurance coverage; secondary students were charged a rate of $3.25 per academic year; senior high football players paid $5.50 per school year.[79] The new insurance policy offered fewer benefits and carried a deductible.[80] The school board's tendency to cushion the after-school athletic programme is also revealed in the

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[74] Bellingham School District, Annual Budget 1954-55 (Bellingham, 1955).
[75] By 1965, the Bellingham School District had hired a head football and basketball coach, as well as an assistant football and basketball coach. No longer subject to 'extra duty' pay, the coaches received regular salaries that were based on a point system. The coaches received $50.50 per point, the head coaches earned 14 to 16 points, or approximately $700 to $800 per school year; the assistant coaches earned eight to ten points or $400 to $500 per school year. Bellingham School Board Minutes, May 25, 1965.
[76] Bellingham School Board Minutes, August 13, 1963.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] Bellingham School Board Minutes, June 8, 1964.
[79] Bellingham School Board Minutes, May 24, 1966.
[80] *Ibid.*

school's towel fee schedule. Ninth grade students paid a quarterly towel fee of $3.00; tenth grade students paid $5.00; and all high school athletes paid a fee of $1.00.[81]

The Bellingham School District established the positions of Director of Physical Education and Athletics in 1960, and Equipment Manager and Trainer in 1961. The School Board reiterated that the position of Director of Physical Education did 'not represent a greater emphasis on athletics but a coordination of all duties of physical education and athletics under one person'.[82] Despite the School Board's cautionary remark, between 1960 and 1962 the Bellingham School District authorised the purchase of a school bus to transport athletic teams to out-of-town games,[83] authorised the presence of a doctor at every home football game, and approved payment to the Bellingham Police Department for police protection at all football and basketball games.[84] In 1962, the importance of sports and physical education received reinforcement at Bellingham High when the school began a fitness test programme that required all students to be tested every six weeks. The test was 'designed to demand the same fitness from the non-athlete as the athlete'.[85] Depending on the level of fitness achieved during the testing, students earned the privilege to advance from wearing white gym shorts to red, and finally to blue, a practice that made a student's achieved level of physicality very obvious.[86] Until the early 1960s, the Associated Student Body financially supported the high school athletic programme and the necessary funds were provided through ticket receipts and student dues. In 1957 the baseball, track, tennis, golf and swimming teams brought in no income,

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[81] Bellingham School Board Minutes, June 11, 1968.
[82] Bellingham School Board Minutes, March 28, 1960.
[83] Prior to 1960, students were driven to out-of-town games in private cars. The Dads Club donated smaller vehicles for smaller teams. The school district paid for the upkeep of these vehicles.
[84] Bellingham School Board Minutes, April 27, 1960; August 14, 1962; September 4, 1962.
[85] Bellingham School Board Minutes, November 30, 1962.
[86] *Ibid.*

however, Bellingham's football and basketball ticket receipts 'showed profits'.[87] In 1957, a girl's athletic programme was started at Bellingham High. Girls were able to participate in one of four sports: speedball, volleyball, basketball and softball, available before school from 8:30 am to 9:00 am.

A hierarchy of school sports is evident in the merit system for high school athletes at Bellingham High. The scale was based on the amount of points a student earned by turning out for each game. By accumulating points, students gained the right to join one of two clubs at Bellingham High, the 'B' Club or the Raider Club. After completing the 200-point requirement, school athletes received a Red Raider sweater. As a mark of social standing, Bellingham students proudly wore their red sweaters and letterman jackets during school activities and on Fridays. As writer Bob Greene wrote in his diary of 1964, 'I wore my letter sweater to school today. You're supposed to do that on Fridays when there's a game that night. It really makes the day feel special'.[88] Extra curricular activities served to unite students in loyalty to their school, as well as help students 'attain high moral, mental, physical and spiritual ideals'.[89]

School loyalty and good citizenship were heavily stressed at Bellingham High. In an attempt to boost school spirit, in 1957 Bellingham administrators decided to teach students school songs and yells by passing out mimeographed sheets, and by increasing the number of all-school assemblies. The administration also initiated the start of a 'Support your Team Day' and a 'Raider Warpath Day' where, on both occasions, assemblies were held and a concession stand was set up in the commons where students

[87] *Bellingham Beacon*, April 12, 1957.
[88] Bob Greene, *Be True to Your School, A Diary of 1964* (New York, 1987), p. 22.
[89] Bellingham School District, Bellingham 'B' Book (1958).

could purchase noisemakers, candy and various items emblazoned with the school coat-of-arms.[90] Students chanted old spirit songs such as, 'On to honor, on to glory; we must win this game; Fight team, and bring us victory and fame!'[91] School cheers were followed by the Pledge of Allegiance, the Star-Spangled Banner and America the Beautiful. Beginning in 1956, a committee of six students and two advisors was formed to evaluate all school assemblies. Using a 4.0 grading scale, the committee judged the assemblies on 'student appeal, educational value, production, content, amusement and purpose'.[92] The new grading scale motivated students to aspire to produce a 'perfect' assembly. Students attended Pep Rallies and became Song and Yell Leaders, joined organisations such as the Girls' and Boy's Pep Club, the Welfare Committee, the Friendship Committee, the Social Committee, the Information Club, the Service Club, the Raider Club, the 'B' Club, the Hi-Y Club, the Beta Hi-Y Club, the Girls League, and the Key Club, which all functioned to support and coordinate school social affairs and inspire the spirit of unity in the student body at Bellingham High. It was school policy at Bellingham to excuse members of the Torch Club from second semester final exams.[93] School spirit was seen as the primary inspiration for instituting a dress code at Bellingham High in 1957. Students were required to wear a red and white uniform, the official purpose for the standardised clothing being to 'promote school spirit and give everyone the feeling of being a part of Bellingham High School, to put down wasted effort spent on shopping and then having to decide what to wear, and to cut down on

[90] The concession stand was open the entire school day, which created problems by the mid-1960s as students were repeatedly tardy for class, the excuse being 'the concession line was long'. The administration curtailed the concession stand, which was open before and after-school and during lunch break only.
[91] Bellingham High School, *Shuksan Yearbook*, 1945.
[92] *Bellingham Beacon*, March 9, 1956.
[93] The Torch Club was a national high school scholarship honourary society, with club membership in nearly every high school in the United States. To be a member of the Torch Club, students must earn 24 grade points during their sophomore year and to receive the highest pin, the 'torch,' students must accumulate 50 grade points by the end of their junior year. After 1942, the club's constitution was changed to accept full credit for grades earned in Band, Orchestra or Glee Clubs.

clothes competition from families of different economic backgrounds'.[94] As an all-city high school, the student body at Bellingham High came from both the poorest and the wealthiest neighbourhoods in the city of Bellingham. Attempts to introduce a dress code failed to survive an onslaught of protest and the endeavour ended with the 1957 school year.

The importance attached to extra curricular activities at Bellingham High School is reflected in the 1951 school yearbook opening statement. It reads:

> The classes remind us of 'Right Around Home' as they include everyone – the tall, the short, the serious, and the gay. Since Bellingham students are always into everything in the way of activities, we quite naturally call them the 'Katzenjammer Kids'. We also find the athletes whose mighty deeds and great strength have earned for them the title of 'Supermen'.[95]

Life Adjustment educators regarded extra curricular activities as a means to promote the 'habits and actions of a democracy' through the development of courage, cooperation, tenacity, and justice.[96] On the other hand, students often viewed extra curricular activities as a vital part of high school life, noting in a 1963 final thought, 'Closing the classroom door for the final time, 1963 graduates retain happy thoughts of friends and activities . . . even classes and teachers'.[97]

The 1958 *Shuksan* yearbook was given the title, 'The Journey is Complete', a poignant representation of the Bellingham High School graduate of the time. Few graduates of

[94] *Bellingham Beacon*, 1957.
[95] Bellingham High School, *Shuksan Yearbook*, 1951.
[96] Bellingham School District, Bellingham 'B' Book (1958).
[97] Bellingham High School, *Shuksan Yearbook*, 1963.

Bellingham went on to attend university. Most went to work in local industry or received their 'Mrs. Degree'.[98] When asked about their future ambitions, the graduates of 1963 gave varied responses – 'travel the world,' 'be somebody someday,' 'construction worker,' 'stenographer,' 'get a good job and have fun,' 'to learn a bunch of kids to think good,' 'to live up to the expectations of my friends,' or 'Christian service'.[99]

By this time, what little post-Sputnik enthusiasm for academic improvement that had developed in the Bellingham School District ended as a number of factors coalesced in the mid-1960s to bring about further change in the high school curriculum, including the assassination of President Kennedy, the civil rights movement, the radical student movement, the counterculture and the youth movement.[100] The federal government responded to many of these concerns with the passage of the Federal Manpower Act of 1963,[101] the Vocational Education Act of 1963,[102] the Civil Rights Act of 1964,[103] the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964,[104] and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act

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[98] Bellingham High School, *Shuksan Yearbook*, 1952.
[99] *Shuksan Yearbook*, 1963.
[100] The Bellingham police reported that 1,000 juveniles had gone 'afoul of the law' in 1956, committing crimes ranging from petty theft, vandalism, burglary, runaways, use of liquor, with no one category increasing faster than the others. This figure was up from 400 in 1950. *Bellingham Beacon*, January 18, 1957. The Juvenile Probation Department in Whatcom County were quoted as saying, 'The children now love luxury; they have bad manners, and contempt for authority. Children are tyrants; they no longer rise when elders enter the room. They contradict their parents, chatter before company and tyrannize their teachers'. *Ibid.* The forces that shaped the growing youth culture included the sheer number of baby boomers, the post-war affluence, mounting secularism, parental permissiveness, rock and roll, and the sexual revolution. As Thomas Reeves argues, the youth movement preceded serious American involvement in the Vietnam War, but the 'conflict fueled the rebellion and propelled it into a force that significantly altered American culture'. Thomas C. Reeves, *Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford, 2000), p. 186.
[101] *The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962*, amended and expanded in 1963, provided up-to-date training for the unemployable.
[102] *The Vocational Education Act of 1963* provided federal funding for the construction of vocational schools with expanded offerings.
[103] *The Civil Rights Act of 1964* enforced and assisted in the desegregation of public schools.
[104] *The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964* focused on the war on poverty through retraining and remedial education. The EOA called for the establishment of a Job Corps, work training and study programmes to provide young Americans with education and vocational skills.

of 1965.[105] But rather than serving as the solution to what ailed American society, public schools were increasingly seen as part of the problem for as Perkinson argues, 'they too were [considered] racist and agencies of socialization'.[106]

Throughout the early to mid-1960s, local school officials in Bellingham were inundated with arguments for change. In 1960, the Bellingham School Board reported on the National School Board Convention and in summation noted that, 'public schools need a new curriculum teaching more about everything', this revised curriculum being intended to help address the 'four main problems in the world today, war, hunger, colonialism, and the indignity and inequality of people'.[107] The school board also deliberated on the 1962 American Association of School Administrators Conference that focused on the issues of segregation, teaching the individual rather than offering 'mass education', dropouts, and unemployment.[108] During the School Board's July 23, 1963 meeting, a letter from President Kennedy was read which encouraged American educators to stress 'equality of opportunity,' as well as 'keeping students in school as long as possible'.[109] A conference on Curriculum and Instruction held at Columbia Teachers College of New York in 1965 encapsulates the change in national priorities during the mid-1960s. In response to the conference, the Bellingham School Board reported:

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[105] *The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* provided federal grants to states for allocation to school districts with low-income families. Many of these federal programmes were part of President Johnson's concept of a 'Great Society', formally launched on 22 May 1964. As a former teacher and principal, President Johnson was considered by Hubert Humphrey to have been an evangelical 'nut on education'. The first priority outlined in the Great Society was to broaden educational opportunities and to enrich the quality of school offerings. During the inaugural speech Johnson declared, 'The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents . . . A . . . place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America'. As cited in John Traynor, *Modern United States History* (New York, 2001), p. 307.

[106] Henry Perkinson, *The Imperfect Panacea, American Faith in Education*, 4th edition (New York, 1995), p. 160.

[107] Bellingham School Board Minutes, May 10, 1960.

[108] Bellingham School Board Minutes, February 27, 1962.

[109] Bellingham School Board Minutes, July 23, 1963.

> There was need for schools to educate the whole child and every child. There was need for schools to develop the proper self-image of each student, this was more important than the intelligence of the student. There was indication that the schools were placing too much emphasis on grades and homework. Subject matter was not as important as a broad general education.[110]

By the mid 1960s, therefore, the Bellingham School Board was moving the emphasis and purpose of secondary education back towards where it had been in the years of Life Adjustment, and away from the post-Sputnik compromise with academic achievement which had been reflected in the 1962 statement of its policy:

> We believe that in our Democratic Society each citizen should have equal educational opportunity. The function of the school is to develop citizens who reason clearly, communicate effectively, value truth, freedom and beauty, have a deep feeling for humanity and who act accordingly. In addition, the school should promote good mental and physical health and encourage development of various individual abilities to the greatest fulfilment of each student. It is assumed that the schools share with parents, churches, and other organizations the development of a sense of duty, reverence and moral responsibility.[111]

Bellingham's revised philosophy embodies Charles Rathbone's ideology of 'open education', the fundamentals of which included the belief that every child is 'a self-activated maker of meaning, an active agent in his own learning process, a self-reliant, independent, self-actualizing individual,' whereupon ' . . . knowledge comes from

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[110] Bellingham School Board Minutes, July 27, 1965.

[111] Bellingham School Board Minutes, November 13, 1962. The emphases on clear reasoning and effective communication were part of a wider improvement noted by Conant a few years later in James B. Conant, *The Comprehensive High School, A Second Report to Interested Citizens* (New York, 1967).

personal experience'.[112] Whilst preparing the revised policy statement, the Bellingham School Board remarked that the district's 'educational philosophy must be representative of the electorate and not the individual opinions of the board'.[113]

As adult authority was being challenged in the larger society, the School Board tightened some policies whilst easing others. To maintain attendance, students were now required to earn at least eight credits in their senior year of high school; at least four of these credits were to be completed in the second semester of their final year.[114] Schools officials weighted the final year of secondary schooling to help maintain full attendance until graduation.[115] Students were also required to complete a minimum of 28 credits for graduation beginning with the class of 1964.[116]

Yet another aspect of retaining students is revealed in the school district's discipline policy. In 1964, students at Bellingham High were no longer permitted to walk home during the lunch break. Officials hoped a closed campus would cut down on the higher absentee rate experienced in afternoon classes. The Washington State School Directors

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[112] Charles H. Rathbone, ed., *Open Education: The Informal Classroom* (New York, 1971) as cited in Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade*, p. 249.

[113] Bellingham School Board Minutes, October 9, 1962. There was an element of dissension in the school board and many of the more senior board members were sceptical of the distinctly non-academic nature to the revised goals.

[114] Bellingham School Board Minutes, January 9, 1962.

[115] Despite the changes, the dropout rate continued to increase at Bellingham High throughout the 1960s and 1970s. President Kennedy's expressed desire to keep students in school is also reflected in Bellingham's decision to hire a school nurse. During a school board meeting in 1958, a representative of the County Health Department addressed the issue of absenteeism and school nurses. The county representative regarded low attendance as a negative aspect for all because 'if students are absent the class slows down to let the absent one catch up'. Bellingham School Board Minutes, April 21, 1958. An in-school clinic, which provided nursing care, dental exams, and immunisation shots was introduced to lower the absentee rate. Members of the Bellingham School Board concurred with the county representative, adding 'the schools save money by this program because the schools have fewer absences and therefore do not lose attendance money'. *Ibid.* The schools tendency to want to 'slow down' class work reflects the precedence given to the individual over the well being of the group. This policy also taught students that the school system should accommodate their needs.

[116] Bellingham School Board Minutes, January 9, 1962.

Association (WSSDA) initiated this change for 'as a general legal principle, the schools have jurisdiction over their pupils during the full school day'.[117] The association felt that 'any behaviour which reflects on the school is punishable by school authorities'.[118] Under this ruling, the Bellingham School District was able to uphold a provision that prohibited students from attending movies except on Friday and Saturday nights.[119] On the other hand, the Bellingham School Board eased the suspension policy in 1964 to maintain continuity in a student's schooling. The new discipline policy carried a suspension for one week, with permission to make up lost time after-school. Suspension for an entire semester was only to come into effect after a second offence. Prior to 1964, students were suspended for the rest of the semester for their first violation. By the mid-1960s, teachers had stopped locking the classroom door; the revised tardy policy gave 'each teacher' the option to 'design his own policy for handling tardiness'.[120]

In 1963, Bellingham High reported a 3.7 percent dropout rate, representing 60 students of which 'forty-three were known to the police'.[121] The vice-principal, Robert Frazier, stipulated four factors that were believed to contribute to dropouts before graduation. He noted that a '$1.50-2.00 wage looks big to a seventeen year old', since it is 'the means to

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[117] State of Washington, Washington School Directors Association, Newsletter, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (March 1961), p. 3.
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] The school district also amended the student marriage policy in 1961. Prior to amendment, married students were permitted to participate in extra curricular activities but were disbarred from 'holding positions of leadership in student affairs'. The revised policy stated that married students 'must assume the responsibility of an adult' and thus must 'give up all extra curricular activities'. Bellingham School Board Minutes, December 12, 1961. The school board hoped that by tightening the school's marriage policy this would deter students from marrying prior to high school graduation. As a result of the growing youth culture, nationwide teen pregnancy for 15 to 19 year olds increased from 87,100 in 1960 to 123,100 in 1965, births for young women under the age of 15 increased from 4,600 in 1960 to 6,100 in 1965. The Bellingham School Board further stipulated that once a student's pregnancy became known, or visible, the student was permitted to finish out the semester before taking a maternity leave. After the baby's birth, a student was given permission to be absent for just one semester before resuming their studies.
[120] Bellingham School District, Bellingham 'B' Book (Bellingham, 1964).
[121] Bellingham School Board Minutes, November 12, 1963.

becoming a car owner'.[122] Some high school dropouts finished school in the armed services, had poor reading ability, and an unsatisfactory home life with one-half of dropouts coming from broken homes.[123] During a November meeting of the School Board, the vice-principal at Bellingham felt 'the increased emphasis on reading,' that was introduced during the limited post-Sputnik push to improve academic studies, 'was very important' although he further noted, 'this was the cause for dropouts'.[124] The principal at Bellingham, Harlan Jackson, indicated he thought 'there should be some other way of teaching English to slow students,' since most dropouts had a 2.0 or lower grade point average.[125] Jackson was unclear whether the students who appeared to be struggling with their coursework, or had dropped out of school altogether, were 'slow, disturbed, or simply rebelling'.[126] To stave off absenteeism and combat school dropouts, Bellingham increased the availability of 'psychological services', introduced curriculum changes and 'special class programs' beginning in the early 1960s.[127]

Despite a lower than average dropout rate, the Bellingham School District hired attendance staff, with administrative support.[128] Bellingham's 3.7 percent rate of dropout was about half the state average in 1963.[129] In the early 1960s, a fully staffed guidance counselling office, complete with six counsellors, was open to students 20 minutes before

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[122] Bellingham School Board Minutes, August 8, 1963.
[123] *Ibid.*
[124] Bellingham School Board Minutes, November 12, 1963.
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] *Ibid.*
[128] Until the early 1960s, secondary school counselling received little attention in the public schools. The NDEA of 1958 and the Conant Report both strongly endorsed the expansion of counselling services in the pubic high schools. Interest grew in the early 1960s as educators argued in support of 'ego-counselling', considered a 'feasible educational method' for improving student 'self-awareness and self-acceptance'. Raymond C. Hummel, 'Ego-Counseling in Guidance: Concept and Method', *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 32, No. 4 (Fall 1962), p. 481. A separate attendance office was also established at Bellingham High in 1962 when the district hired two attendance clerks to 'strictly enforce school laws'.
[129] In the same year, Garfield High School reported a 4.6 percent rate of dropout. However, smaller school districts such as the San Juan School District reported a three percent dropout rate in 1963.

the start of school and remained open throughout the regular school day, extending one-half hour after-school ended. Counsellors were assigned to each class as it entered high school and continued with that class through graduation. The school counsellors' 'primary purpose' was to assist students 'with any problem which may interfere with successful completion of their education'.[130] Hence, counsellors were responsible for helping students deal with a variety of problems, personal, academic or vocational. Group discussions were also held in many classes, topics including adjustment to high school, college planning, vocational choices and personality concerns.

A number of provisions were introduced to give students at-risk the opportunity to complete graduation requirements through alternative methods, for instance through evening courses offered at the high school. The evening classes ran for 12 weeks, and students attended sessions from 7:00 pm to 9:00 pm, two days per week. The night school course list included: electronics, citizenship, typing, business machines, shorthand, Bishop sewing, home sewing, woodcraft, driver education, mathematics, 'show card writing', machine shop, welding, bus driving, and medications.[131] The Whatcom Superintendent of Schools, Gordon Carter, assured the district that the night school was not a 'watered-down' programme.[132] The Bellingham School District also pioneered a work experience programme in the early 1960s. As part of the programme, high school students attended school for a half-day, working on a local job the other half, without pay. Students earned vocational or elective credits for their documented work experience. The programme soon became a statewide curriculum offering, and by the early 1970s students in the work experience programme were able to earn a wage, as well as accumulate high school credit.

[130] Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Course Catalog (Bellingham, 1965).
[131] Bellingham School Board Minutes, September 11, 1962.
[132] Bellingham School Board Minutes, April 28, 1965.

The school district also developed the Neighbourhood Youth Core Program (N.Y.C.) in the mid-1960s that allowed high school dropouts, or potential dropouts, to earn money and high school credit at the same time.[133] Students were able, for example, to participate in building a log cabin, and to earn a wage of $1.25 per hour whilst gaining elective credits within the vocational department at Bellingham High. The N.Y.C. programme permitted students to work ten to thirty hours per week, and the federal government reimbursed the Bellingham School District for 90 percent of the cost of this programme. Students received counselling during this employment period. The N.Y.C. programme received continuing support from the Bellingham School Board.[134] Commercial classes were also set up at Bellingham High under the Federal Manpower Act of 1963, with courses directed at jobs identified by the State Employment Security Department.[135] Before being added to the curriculum, the State agency had to certify that 'they could place the product' of a class.[136] Under the Manpower Training Act, Arthur Piccolo was hired to teach Bellingham High's service station attendants class, which operated at a rented service station situated close to the high school.

[133] The N.Y.C. programme was established using funds provided by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Considered a 'major step in the war on poverty', the EOA was backed by almost $1 billion worth of federal funding; the legislation created the work-training Job Corp programme and rural conservation camps. Reeves, *Twentieth-Century America*, p. 180.

[134] Bellingham School Board Minutes, August 24, 1965. By 1968, there were 45 boys involved in the N.Y.C. programme at Bellingham High School.

[135] Bellingham School Board Minutes, November 26, 1963.

[136] *Ibid.* The school district's response to the Manpower Act of 1963 reflects Grubb and Lazerson's argument that the 'learning to earn' aim of schooling that developed out of the progressive era, culminated in the 'human capital theory' of the 1960s, whereby the justification of schooling became increased earnings. Grubb and Lazerson, *Broken Promises*, p. 136.

Preoccupied with affective education,[137] the Bellingham School District adopted a policy of automatic social promotion in the early 1960s when the School Board was concerned with the 'psychological damage' associated with retaining students. Before this, 'there were no automatic promotions' and students advanced to the next grade level only if they had mastered the necessary skills.[138] Under the new policy, students were promoted regardless of whether they could handle the coursework of the next grade. The school district believed that with special attention these students would soon 'catch up'. As a result, a very low percentage of students at Bellingham High were retained, but as the 1960s progressed the policy led to a growing need for remedial and 'special education' classes.[139]

Among these, a remedial reading course was added to the schedule each semester, open to any student '2 years behind his class level in speed and comprehension'.[140] A course entitled 'Reading Seminar' was also added to the curriculum in the mid-1960s, the objective of which was to 'encourage students to take pleasure in reading'.[141] Successful completion of one semester of a reading seminar was counted as 'make-up for one failure in a regular required English class'.[142] The English Department also added a fundamental 'writing' course, even though the stated class objective was to develop in the student 'vital awareness of his present habits when talking with others'.[143] The actual theme of the writing course was personal awareness and students were asked to complete few written

[137] Affective learning is defined as 'all learning which is concerned with the emotions, feelings or passions that motivate, constrain or shape human action'. Ron Best, 'The Development of Affective Education in England', in Peter Lang, with Yaacov Katz and Isabel Menezes, *Affective Education, A Comparative View* (London, 1998), p. 73.
[138] Bellingham School Board Minutes, October 28, 1958.
[139] In 1966, grade retentions were reported at the elementary school level at a rate of 2.2 percent while only 8 students were retained at the secondary level or .35 percent of the total enrolment figure.
[140] Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Course Catalog (Bellingham, 1965).
[141] *Ibid.*
[142] *Ibid.*
[143] *Ibid.*

assignments. In the Mathematics Department, a Practical Math series, Technical Math and Refresher Math course were added to the curriculum in the mid-1960s. The practical maths series was devoted to enforcing the fundamental 'operation of arithmetic through discussions of such topics as taxes, insurance, and finance . . . the emphasis is toward the use of mathematics in everyday life'.[144] The Science Department also added a General Science course and a Science Survey course in the mid-1960s. Remedial courses were no longer viewed as preliminary to the prerequisites, but rather served as replacements for standard course requirements, particularly in the academic subject areas. Students were also permitted to substitute elective courses for academic graduation requirements. For example, beginning in 1960 a class in music appreciation could be substituted for senior English literature.

The preoccupation with affective education also, perhaps, lay behind the increasing use of television. By the mid-1960s, schools were considered 'still too fact conscious' in their instructional programme.[145] The Bellingham School Board took an interest in the value of television as an educational tool beginning in 1958.[146] Television was also considered in areas of teacher shortage, and often served as a 'better teaching resource to older children and adults'.[147] Throughout the 1960s, the Bellingham School District expanded its use of educational television, which was utilised in virtually all subject areas, including Physical Education. As a new Board member in 1965, David Mintz, vice-president of the local television station KVOS-TV, donated telecable equipment, time and money to the School

[144] *Ibid.* The curriculum of the Technical Maths course was noted as a 'composite discussion of the various mathematical skills necessary for those planning to attend the Bellingham Technical College. Refresher Maths was open to juniors and seniors only. The course reviewed basic maths skills.
[145] Perkinson also argues that 'we respond to print cognitively, but to television we respond affectively'. Perkinson, *The Imperfect Panacea*, p. 154.
[146] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, October 27, 1958.
[147] *Ibid.*

District.[148] In cooperation with the Washington State School Directors Association, lessons were jointly prepared by 'TV producers and teachers'.[149] However, the Board was more interested in where to mount the antennae than in the value of television as a teaching tool. Soon, teacher concern began to surface during School Board meetings. As one teacher stated, 'Televisions control teachers. Television programmes are presented as a complete . . . with no chance for two-way dialogue'.[150] Television was found to be most useful when it 'brings in timely news items or specialists'.[151] Despite the apprehension, teachers continued to rely on television programming at Bellingham High School on a regular basis throughout the 1960s.[152] As a 'powerfully present minded medium', the use of television is argued by Thomas Wheeler to damage education by presenting lessons as entertainment, with sentimental affect.[153] The use of televisions in presenting the high school curriculum had an altogether different effect on Senator Kerrey, who remarked, 'The only non-scientific course I remember well is economics, only because the lectures were broadcast from two television sets mounted from the ceiling in the front of a large room; they reliably put me to sleep'.[154]

New in 1957, the high school expanded the availability of the speed-reading class, which was made available to college bound seniors and sophomores whose reading was

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[148] In 1966, the Washington Education Association presented a reward to KVOS-TV for their educational television programming, 'Revolution in Vocational Education', and 'Tomorrow Won't Wait, Schools Today'.

[149] State of Washington, Washington School Directors Association, Newsletter, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (February 1961), p. 5.

[150] Bellingham School Board Minutes, November 14, 1967. Telecable was made available to Bellingham High in 1965, making it possible for live shows to be viewed over Channel 6 or 10.

[151] *Ibid.*

[152] The Seattle area schools also expanded their use of educational television in the 1960s. In cooperation with Channel 9, Seattle schools paid $1.00 per enrolled student per class to the television station for educational programming.

[153] Wheeler argues that television limits the 'mental work of the viewer' and 'while it does use language, it is often of a simple order'. Thomas C. Wheeler, *The Great American Writing Block, Causes and Cures of the New Illiteracy* (New York, 1979), p. 4.

[154] Kerrey, *When I Was a Young Man*, p. 89.

'below par'.[155] Each quarter, 20 to 30 students were chosen to take part in the speed-reading class according to their 'dependability and need', meeting from 8:20 am until 8:50 am daily. The use of speed-reading as a means to improve a student's comprehension is evidence of the district's penchant for innovative, yet perhaps unsound, educational tools. In the early 1960s, Bellingham also introduced the use of 'teaching machines' to be used in the mathematics classes. The teaching machine featured programmed learning materials touted for three properties, '1. The machine was able to give continuous responses, providing explicit practice and testing of each step of what is learned; 2. Student response to a problem is checked immediately; and 3. Students develop an understanding of algebra on an individual basis at their own pace'.[156] The teaching machine was actually a book of mathematic problems, complete with answers and instructions. Students were to read the directions, work through a problem, and then slide down a plastic double view sheet to see the correct answer. Cheating was possible, though the first test was said to cure 'repeat cheaters'.[157] Part of the rationale for introducing teaching machines at Bellingham High was because the method fostered 'no competition' as students all worked independently through a series of 30 tests.[158] The head of the Mathematics department, Earle Jewell, was in favour of teaching machines because 'the explanation and questions between problems are phrased so the student will answer only the right way'.[159] The project was also adopted to help alleviate overcrowding in Mathematics classes during the mid-1960s. In 1964, there were 134 students enrolled in

[155] Bellingham School Board Minutes, March 1, 1957.
[156] 'Teaching Machines Being Used by B.H.S. Math Classes', *The Bellingham Herald,* October 4, 1961.
[157] *Ibid.*
[158] *Ibid.*
[159] 'B.H.S. Teachers Experimenting with Too-Big Math Classes', *The Bellingham Herald*, September 24, 1963. As Jewell went on to explain, 'In regular classes, a teacher may ask a question that has a variety of answers, although only one may be correct'. *Ibid.* Earle Jewell retired in 1963 after 26 years of teaching at Bellingham High. Jewell also served as the basketball and track coach at Bellingham High.

Algebra I, and 230 students in Algebra II.[160] Students were hesitating to take advanced maths courses 'because they may lower grade averages'.[161] Earle Jewell added, 'strangely enough, the worried students are those with very high averages'.[162]

Before the introduction of the teaching machine, teachers were being asked to instruct a class that was five times the average size. To help the teaching staff, school secretaries graded the programmed learning tests, and high school seniors were used to circulate the classroom to help answer questions. To assess the effectiveness of teaching machines, school administrators conducted a self-evaluation in 1963. Students were given a standardised test to measure the course's efficiency, and the results showed a median grade of 43 as against the state figure of 50. The self-evaluation revealed that teaching machines, however convenient, were not as effective as conventional teaching methods.

In an effort to make learning more relevant, administrators at Bellingham increased the use of field trips as part of the class curriculum in the 1960s. Students in all subject areas took part in at least one field trip a quarter per class. The examples are many but a few include home economics classes visiting the kitchen appliance department at the Sears store, psychology classes visiting a Canadian mental institution to observe the patients under treatment, and sociology classes touring Seattle, including the Central District. Mathematics classes visited the Boeing plant in Seattle, or the Shell Oil Refinery in Anacortes; students in Humanities could attend an operatic performance in Vancouver, and visit the B.C. Parliament Buildings, while Geology classes participated in

[160] 'High School Math Classes Have Extra High Enrollment', *The Bellingham Herald*, March 11, 1964. The class of 1965 was the largest on record at Bellingham High with 603 graduates.
[161] *Ibid.*
[162] *Ibid.*

anthropological digs in Semiahmoo.[163] In 1968, Bellingham received favourable comments from the State office regarding their innovative use of field trips, especially those that were organised for the 'gifted or talented' student.[164] The State's commendation for Bellingham's use of field trips reflects the propensity to reward action oriented teaching methods.

By contrast books, whether textbooks or works of fiction, increasingly disappeared from the classroom. When a teacher did assign reading, students were often required to read only a chapter or two, which was mimeographed and given as a handout to students during class. The social studies Current Issues course was designed to help students become aware of the various issues that faced Americans and the people of Washington State. The course made use of the daily newspaper and 'such supplementary material as available'.[165] This is a development that many have remembered. Mark Edmundson recalled that until his senior year of high school, 'I had never read all the way through a book that was written for adults and that was not concerned with football'.[166] In 1961, Joseph Heller's *Catch-22* was the only book Senator Kerrey read that year.[167] Shifting away from the written word, the theme of the 1966 *Shuksan* yearbook was *Images*; the method of writing was 'dot dot dot copy'.[168]

At the beginning of the 1963 school year, the English Department at Bellingham became the Language Arts Department and the History Department became the Social

[163] Field trips would normally take a full school day, with bus transportation provided by the Bellingham School District.
[164] Bellingham School Board Minutes, June 25, 1968.
[165] Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Course Catalog (Bellingham, 1966).
[166] Edmundson, *Teacher, The One Who Made the Difference*, p. 16.
[167] Kerrey, *When I Was a Young Man*, p. 88.
[168] Bellingham High School, *Shuksan Yearbook*, 1966.

Studies Department, a change that reflects the shift in emphasis to self-expression and current social concerns rather than classical literature and history texts. Bringing relevance into the curriculum was a way to encourage greater interest in high school subjects. As stated by John Goodlad, 'One must see an area of life as highly relevant to one's identity goals and satisfactions to be sufficiently aroused to identify with it'.[169] Congruent with 'affective education', the curriculum gave attention to issues of social, political and moral concern. However, these were presented to students 'in a value-neutral way'.[170] In the early 1960s, the senior English course utilised such texts as *The Fountainhead, Lord of the Flies, Brave New World* and *The Caine Mutiny*. By the end of the decade, senior English students were studying the anthology, *U.S. in Literature, Hey, Doll Face, Thought and Phrase,* the *Origin of Drama,* and the film version of *The Rise of Greek Tragedy*. In keeping with the times, the new curriculum was an effort to validate the claims of the individual, with focus given to personal freedom rather than collective self-interest. The English curriculum focused on either the function of reading and its use as a tool, or on expository writing assignments, journal entries, review and analyses, editorials, interviews and interpretations.[171] In an effort to lure student interest, teachers took the opportunity to use the school's public address system to acquaint students with their class offerings for the following semester.

To retain student interest, teachers were free to develop innovative ways of engaging students in the class programme. A Social Studies teacher at Bellingham High, Robert Brown, decided to try a new method of teaching what he called an 'absolutely unbearable

[169] Goodlad, *A Place Called School,* p. 79.
[170] Lang, *Affective Education*, p. 75.
[171] When reading, students were taught to find facts, skim for value and form judgements. John Goodlad's research also revealed the use of anthologies and the emphasis on expository writing, which he found was introduced 'to the neglect of creative, fictional writing'. Goodlad, *A Place Called School*, p. 206.

subject', Washington State history.[172] As Brown explained, 'We start out with nothing, no course layout, no definite material, nothing'.[173] Students were to select a state or local problem, study the issue independently, and present their findings to the class during an oral presentation at the end of the quarter. Brown's students were not required to attend the regularly scheduled class period. Some of the issues studied as part of Washington State History were one-way streets, parking and citizen apathy. In the 1960s, the majority of teachers at Bellingham followed a relatively unstructured curriculum; the classroom thus became more informal, with greater amounts of unscheduled time. As Andrew Coulson has argued, this approach to secondary schooling worked well for the self-motivated student. For the majority of high school students, however, 'the system was a failure'.[174] The average student 'felt lost and frustrated', Coulson added.[175] Indeed, when evaluating the Washington State History course, Robert Brown reported findings identical to that expressed by Andrew Coulson.

At the behest of Public Law 89-10, the Bellingham School Board resolved to approve the issuance of a high school equivalency diploma, or General Education Diploma (G.E.D.) in 1965. Forty-seven states already offered such a diploma, and with many businesses refusing employment to those without one, the Board saw it as a way of helping those who had not been able to complete high school for reasons beyond their control. The Bellingham School Board viewed earning a G.E.D. as a 'ticket to a job' rather than completing a high school education.[176] The coursework was deemed equivalent to only the fifth or sixth grade, and those trying to qualify could attend night

[172] *Bellingham Beacon*, June 2, 1967.
[173] *Ibid.*
[174] Andrew J. Coulson, *Market Education, The Unknown History* (New Brunswick, 1999), p. 116.
[175] *Ibid.*
[176] Bellingham School Board Minutes, February 9, 1965.

school at Bellingham High.[177] In response to a growing demand for G.E.D. coursework, a number of subjects were added to the night school schedule throughout the 1960s. And, in 1965, the old Roeder Elementary School underwent 'minor remodelling and staffing' at a cost of $92,000, which included a remedial library material centre for use by 'exemplary students', a euphemism that was used by the school district to denote the learning disabled.[178]

The curriculum revisions at Bellingham High and within the Bellingham School District reflect the individualistic and anarchic spirit of the 1960s. As described by Thomas Reeves, popular culture in America evolved during this period 'in ways that shocked millions of Americans'.[179] What seized the headlines were campus riots, sit-ins and anti-war demonstrations, the campaign for free speech and the civil rights movement. In everyday life, young women wore miniskirts, used birth control pills and rock music dominated the media.[180] As Diane Ravitch argues, the word 'requirement' became 'anathema' to many American educators in the 1960s.[181] The coinciding drop in college entrance and graduation requirements made it even harder and less necessary to press high school students either to choose a demanding schedule, or to produce good work.[182]

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[177] *Ibid.*
[178] Bellingham School Board Minutes, December 14, 1965.
[179] Reeves, *Twentieth-Century America,* p. 192.
[180] *Ibid.*
[181] Ravitch, *Left Back,* p. 385.
[182] Arthur G. Powell, Eleanor Farrar and David K. Cohen, *The Shopping Mall High School, Winners and Losers in the Educational Marketplace* (Boston, 1985), p. 289. As college entrance requirements were lowered, higher education enrolments increased dramatically during the 1960s. During the early to mid-1960s, intelligence testing fell out of favour as a method of evaluating a student's eligibility for higher education. As the Dean of Admissions at Amhurst University described, 'Instead we look among our qualified candidates for applicants who will give us a class of broad diversification. In other words, the factors which control admission from a large number of well-qualified candidates are now geographical, school distribution, and extra curricular achievement'. As cited in Elisabeth Duffy and Idana Goldberg, *Crafting a Class, College Admissions and Financial Aid, 1955-1994* (Princeton, 1998), p. 83. The number of students enrolled in American colleges and universities in 1960 was approximately 600,000; by 1965 this figure had increased to over 1,400,000. The figure increased to just over 1,500,000 in 1970, where it has since remained. Duffy and Goldberg argue the levelling off of college-going rates in the late 1960s and

By the mid-1960s, administrators at Bellingham High contemplated weighting academic subjects to offset student desire for taking 'soft' subjects in order to maintain a high grade point average. Many students were dropping mathematics, physics and chemistry for fear of earning a 'C' and thus lowering their grade point average, a tendency that administrators noted was more prevalent amongst the 'high ability students'.[183] To solve the problem, the school was to work towards developing a physics and chemistry course designed specifically for the average student.[184] With few students now electing to take what had become the 'super' classes in physics and chemistry, they simply disappeared from the programme by the late-1960s. In the words of Lawrence Cremin, 'a decade after Sputnik the most rapidly growing area of the secondary school curriculum is not physics, not chemistry, not mathematics, but drivers' education'.[185]

By 1967, school spirit at Bellingham High had begun to wane visibly. Administrative complaints about litter on campus, instances of disrespect for teachers and administrators, and the poor attendance at after-school sports activities, clubs and organisations became regular features in the *Bellingham Beacon*.[186] The principal tried various ways to revive school spirit and curb misbehaviour. Teachers were directed to give in-class pep talks before each assembly, and to instruct students 'in the patriotic heritage and ideals of our

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early 1970s, 'left admissions directors at many colleges scrambling to increase their applicant pools in order to minimise selectivity losses'. *Ibid.* By 1967, the entrance requirement policy for Western Washington State College included the following statement, 'If space permits, the College may grant admission to a limited number of students who, in spite of inability to satisfy the normal standards, appear to have the ability and maturity to succeed in an academic program'. Western Washington State College, *Admission Requirements 1967-68* (Bellingham, 1967), p. 14.

[183] *Bellingham Beacon*, March 10, 1964.

[184] *Ibid.*

[185] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Genius of American Education*, Horace Mann Lecture (Pittsburgh, 1965), p. 11.

[186] In 1966, administrators posted signs throughout Bellingham High that read, 'Every Litter Bit Hurts'.

nation' by teaching the salute to the flag and the national anthem.[187] To keep students from leaving the school grounds during assemblies, administrators decided to post teachers at all exits and in the halls during assembly periods. The rush to join clubs and activities that had been common at Bellingham in the 1950s, tapered off considerably in the 1960s. The Bellingham 'B' Club pleaded for girls to join, noting 'you don't have to be a goody-goody'.[188] Faced with dwindling participation rates, the Pep, Odaci, and Ushers Clubs[189] combined to form the Girls Club in 1967.

The *Bellingham Beacon* went through dramatic changes as the 1960s and 1970s progressed. In 1957, 52 students were on the *Beacon* staff, publishing six pages every two weeks. By 1970, 11 students were printing 'every once in a while except when you know when'. There were just five students on the *Beacon* in 1971, publishing 'when we darn well please'; and interest had further waned by 1975 with minimal student involvement when the front-page by-line read, 'This outrageous material was made possible by the last-minute efforts of the *Beacon* staff'. The *Bellingham Beacon* of the 1940s and 1950s had been a professional-looking newspaper complete with school, local, state, national and international news articles, editorials and human-interest stories. The *Beacon* of the later 1960s and early 1970s resembled a glossy magazine which included pages of advertisements and articles that consisted of student complaints and opinions, replete with spelling and grammatical errors. By 1966, the student council dealt solely with issues such as the installation of a pop machine in the student lounge and the reinstatement of a candy counter in the school commons. A small but significant change in the 1966 *Shuksan* yearbook reveals the shift in school emphasis, in order of 'significance' the

[187] Bellingham School Board Minutes, January 12, 1965.
[188] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 28, 1966.
[189] Pep, Odaci, and Ushers were all service clubs.

sections pertaining to student life are 'honoured first', class pictures are second, sports third, the faculty last.

Bellingham school officials were also forced to contend with financial constraints brought on by successive levy failures during the mid-1960s. Following years of successful special levy requests, voters in Whatcom County turned down two special election levies in March and May 1964.[190] During a special meeting, the Bellingham School Board outlined the reasons for the levy failure, noting 'Salaries should not have been stated as the main issue', and 'the voters felt the cost of administration was too high with 6.9 percent of the district's budget spent on administrative salaries in 1963'.[191] Georgia Pacific further withdrew their support of the levy, feeling that 'women are getting large enough salaries' for a workday and work year that was shorter than the average blue-collar worker in Bellingham.[192] Representatives of the pulp mill argued that teachers worked only 185 days per year versus 241 days worked by the average blue-collar employee in Bellingham. The pulp mill representative also attacked the shorter workday of teachers versus the eight-hour workday put in by pulp mill employees. The support of local industry during levy elections was crucial - approximately 58 percent of a levy tax was paid by industry, 29 percent of which came from the largest industries in Whatcom County. The district argued that they could not attract experienced teachers at the salary level they were paying, and 'at the present time' the Bellingham School District was forced to rely on 'short term fill-ins from spouses of college students'.[193] The board

[190] School Bond Levy Records, Whatcom County Auditor, March 10, 1964 and May 12, 1964.
[191] Bellingham School Board Minutes, March 10, 1964. In 1960, the total administrative cost in the Bellingham School District represented 3.8 percent of the annual budget.
[192] *Ibid.*
[193] *Ibid.*

further stated, 'people do not think of them [teachers] as having anything to do with quality education'.[194]

Representatives of the local pulp mill expressed a common attitude towards teachers for, as John Updike writes, 'My father was a high-school teacher . . . but teachers were thought of in Berks County as rather ineffectual figures, well below machinists and full-fashioned knitters in the scale of prestige'.[195] However, voters did go on to approve a special election levy in November 1965 that provided $973,000 for the completion of Sehome High School, as well as capital improvements to Bellingham High School. The levy also called for a tax of approximately 12.5 mills to go towards the district's 'General Fund'. The additional tax levy was collected to procure proper textbooks, teaching materials, and to pay adequate salaries. In rewriting the proposition, the district chose not to highlight these intentions.[196]

As a result of levy failures in 1964 and 1968, and the subsequent reduction of staff and expenditures, Bellingham High School did not meet the state standard for accreditation for the 1967-68 school year.[197] Bellingham High School was short 7 ½ teachers and spent just $1,443 on library materials as opposed to the state requirement of

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[194] *Ibid.*

[195] John Updike, *Self-Consciousness, Memoirs* (New York, 1989), p. 24.

[196] In response to the levy failures and the outcry against teachers, the Washington State Legislature passed the House Bill No. 54 'recognizing the right of employee organizations to represent certified employees in their relations with school districts'. Whatcom County Auditor, School Bond Levy Records (1965). Teachers in Bellingham were not required to join the Bellingham Education Association, however, they were strongly advised to do so.

[197] Accrediting is undertaken by two agencies in Washington State: the State Board of Education and the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. Accreditation is based on six factors: training of instructors, number of teachers, amount of money spent, class loads, electives offered and I.Q. and achievement test results.

at least $5,050 in 1968.[198] In the aftermath of the levy failure, teacher aides, lay readers and remedial readers were cut at Bellingham High, most electives were eliminated, extra curricular activities were curtailed, field trips and athletic trips were reduced, and the publication of the *Bellingham Beacon* was suspended. As classroom loads increased, administrators at Bellingham High mandated students to take a study hall period, thereby limiting all juniors and seniors to four regular classes per day. Bellingham High students sat in study hall with at least 300 other classmates. This meant the reduction of graduation requirements from 38 to 36 credits, 'due to the limitation of classes that could be taken by seniors next year.[199] The Bellingham School Board further gave permission to students enrolled in 1st and 5th period study halls to arrive at school late or to leave campus early.

The levy failures in 1968 sparked controversy over the intended curriculum and budget cuts in the Bellingham School District. The School Board proposed to cut 14 teachers at the high school level. However, the majority of board members felt that other cuts, those not involving personnel, should be minimised, noting 'We feel that quality education will be enhanced by a continuation of some non-classroom activities that may contribute to the cooperative attitude of students, necessary to the carrying out of effective classroom learning'.[200] Parents asked why the School Board did not lower the number of physical education classes at Bellingham High, 'thus opening up time for other academic classes'.[201] School board member, Dr. James Mason, moved that the board no longer require physical education as a course for freshmen and sophomores if parents so wished, but failed to find a seconder. The board argued against Mason's proposal based on a 1963

[198] Having lost accreditation there was question whether colleges outside of Washington State would accept Bellingham graduates. Bellingham School Board Minutes, October 22, 1968. Bellingham High School was again awarded accreditation in January of 1968 with one comment - classes were still overloaded.
[199] Bellingham School Board Minutes, April 30, 1968.
[200] Bellingham School Board Minutes, March 12, 1968.
[201] Diane Holmgren, 'Why P.E. Over Academics?', *The Bellingham Herald*, May 15, 1968.

law that deemed physical education as a high school requirement.[202] The chairman of the School Board, Douglas Blair, made a concession to Dr. Mason's proposal stating, 'if there was a resignation of a P.E. instructor . . . we could hire another teacher in another field'.[203] The board considered Dr. Mason 'always very frank', yet it is clear he was the only board member who pushed for academic standards on a consistent basis.[204] Dr. Mason resigned from the Bellingham School Board on May 28, 1968. A final irony lay in the fact that whilst handing out redundancy notices to some teachers and reassigning others, the Bellingham School District hired a Surplus Property Officer to manage the surplus monies in the district's Bond Redemption Fund, showing that it was not finance but rigid bureaucratic control that was the real problem.

The crest of the 1940s-1950s baby boom children reached high school age during the mid-1960s, a demographic predicament that was reflected in the growing enrolment at Bellingham High. In 1960, Bellingham High School reported 1,510 students; in 1964 the student body had grown to 1,800, a figure that continued to climb until 1967 when the high school accommodated 2,014 students. Just one year later the high school student body was down to 1,400, a figure that reflects the opening of Bellingham's second secondary school, Sehome High School. The opening of Sehome High in September 1967 changed Bellingham High's demography because the school was located on the south side of town, and state requirements stipulated that students were to attend their neighbourhood school.

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[202] Despite the financial crisis, the physical education department at Bellingham was expanding its offerings. In 1968 the Sehome Hill rock cliff was used by Bellingham students in the advanced physical education mountain climbing unit. The instructor believed the 'p.e. programme needs to meet increasing leisure time needs of the individual'. *Bellingham Beacon*, April 29, 1968.
[203] Bellingham School Board Minutes, April 30, 1968.
[204] Bellingham School Board Minutes, May 28, 1968.

During the planning process, the School Board hired an independent surveyor to help determine the best location for the district's second high school, in an area of the city that was expected to sustain the highest rate of population growth. In spite of clear evidence favouring the east and northeast areas of the city, the School Board made the decision to locate the new high school on the south side of town even though the board found they were 'unable to notify the public of the site before the bond election' adding, 'this was not intentional'.[205] Bellingham's professional constituency, the majority of whom lived on the south side of town, submitted a petition with 1,000 names to the School Board in early 1963, in an effort to sway the board's site location decision. The location of Sehome High School sparked particular controversy for it was clear to the residents of Bellingham that the city could not expand to the south given the topographic limitations posed by the Chuckanut Mountain range. Furthermore, Bellingham's south side has also been traditionally populated by wealthier professionals, most having reached an age when their children were no longer in need of public education.

In defence of the decision, the Whatcom County Superintendent, Gordon Carter, stated that there was to be 'no radical change from the present high school programme. This [Sehome] was a neighbourhood school, not one serving a group of people'.[206] Residents were clearly concerned that the location of Sehome High would create a social and economic divide within the city's secondary schools. Bellingham High was at risk of becoming the 'poor' school, unable to attract qualified teachers, district funds and

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[205] Bellingham School Board Minutes, July 23, 1963. John Nordmark of Puget Planners Incorporated, determined that the northwest area of Bellingham had gained 102 students in elementary grades in the past nine years; the central area experienced a decrease of 215 students; the northeast gained 156; the east gained 175; with the southern section of the city gaining just 38. Bellingham School Board Minutes, February 12, 1963. To cover the initial costs of construction for Sehome High School, a $2,750,000.00 bond levy passed on March 12, 1963.

[206] Bellingham School Board Minutes, July 23, 1963.

community support. Despite efforts to 'create harmony and understanding among the schools of Whatcom County', feelings of animosity have affected the school district to the present day.[207] The impact of building Sehome High School on the south side of town resulted in an important demographic shift at Bellingham High. After 1968, an overwhelming majority of students at Bellingham High School did come, as predicted, from the city's working class and poor neighbourhoods.

In spite of it all, by 1968 Bellingham High School remained a place where 'the craziest thing I've ever done was going down the halls marching and singing',[208] where the school board made the decision to ignore the Anti-Discrimination Commission's warning that the district could no longer require a photograph with employment applications,[209] where desegregation and the civil rights movement was regarded as irrelevant and often openly belittled. Students remained largely detached from the counterculture and the radical student movement. Finally, Bellingham remained a place where the 1967 Junior Boys Representative and 1968-69 Associated Student Body President, Mark Asmundson, became Mayor of the city of Bellingham in the year 2000. In 1968, geographic isolation and a spirit of provincialism continued to dominate life in Bellingham.

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[207] In an attempt to unify Bellingham's two high schools, administrators developed the Inter-High Council to bring students from both schools together for committee meetings. Students at both high schools were also given the task of producing joint assemblies. *Bellingham Beacon*, October 28, 1968.

[208] *Bellingham Beacon*, December 8, 1967.

[209] In 1965, the Bellingham School Board decided to comply with the State Board Against Discriminations request adding, 'It is necessary that school districts make such statements before receiving any federal money or grants of equipment or materials'. Bellingham School Board Minutes, February 9, 1965.

Chapter 4

District Reorganisation and Centralisation

Some of the changes instituted in the Seattle and Bellingham School Districts after 1958 suggest educators in Washington State embraced Conant's concept of secondary education and put their faith in the large comprehensive high school. Conant argued that such schools would equalise educational opportunity through the provision of electives, offering both a 'good vocational' and a 'satisfactory academic' programme.[1] To enable local school districts to provide this breadth, whilst maintaining economic viability, Conant deemed it essential that the comprehensive high school enrol at least 750 students in grades 9 through 12. A formidable obstacle to the realisation of this vision was the decentralised nature of public education in the United States. Conant regarded the multiplicity of small districts and small schools as hindrances to social change through educational progress, for many of the school districts possessed neither the money nor the teachers for a comprehensive approach to secondary education.[2]

However, Conant's vision for school district consolidation was, in fact, entirely consistent with the institutional trends of Washington State's educational history. From the inception of the common school, there has been a sustained effort to consolidate local

[1] Conant, *The American High School Today*, p. 17.
[2] Conant, *The American High School Today*, pp. 37-38. 'These school districts are irregular in shape, of various sizes, often most inconveniently delimited from neighbouring districts . . .'. Hans, *Comparative Education*, p. 275. When asked 'Where is American education the weakest?' Conant responded 'The small high school.' He reasoned, 'the local community really is not interested in education. They're interested in the basketball team. When you consolidate two school districts you lose one basketball team'. Pressed for further comment Conant added, 'Perhaps the answer here is to increase the size of basketball teams to 21 to each side'. Constantine Angelos, 'Comprehensive High School is Best Answer. Says Conant', *The Seattle Times*, October 23, 1967.

school districts in the State. The primary reasons for this have remained constant: larger school districts offered greater efficiency of operation, a maximum use of limited resources, increased accountability for educational expenditures, equality of educational opportunity and an assumed relationship between size and quality.[3] Opponents of consolidation were wary of centralised control of local schools. Despite early opposition and often-sluggish progress in the struggle for district reorganisation, Conant's study offered new impetus for change. In the 1960s a number of educators argued forcefully, and with increasing support, for greater consolidation of local school districts in the State.

The office of county superintendent, which would be superseded in district reorganisation, reached back to the period of territorial government.[4] The county superintendent served as the most important school officer in the common school system until the legislature established the office of Territorial Superintendent of Schools in 1871, a position later designated as the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The arrival of statehood in 1889 made few changes to the existing common school laws. The county superintendent was, however, reinstated as the principal school officer presiding over each of the 39 counties. The county superintendent and the county board of education's earliest

[3] The Washington State Planning Council issued the following statement in 1938: 'Legislature after legislature has wrestled with the problem of equalisation of financial support for common schools of the State, but we are still far from this goal. The study of the Council is convinced that the school district is the key-log that jams all efforts for equalisation, not only of financial support, but of educational opportunity in its broader aspects'. As cited in Michael Hickey, *Optimum School District Size* (Eugene, 1969), p. 1. As assistant to the superintendent of the Seattle Public Schools, Hickey examined the relationship between size and 'optimum results in education'. Hickey argued that large schools offered more in the areas of, 'major course sequences, scope and variety of courses, activities, services, class size, volumes in library, and teacher training (i.e. proportion with advanced degrees). Hickey also found sufficient research evidence to indicate that a 'well-established relationship' occurs between size and per pupil cost, pupil achievement, breadth and quality of programmes, quality of teachers. Hickey, *Optimum School District Size*, pp. 8-9.

[4] The Council Bill No. 17, passed on April 12, 1854, established the office of county superintendent and provided the funds and tax distribution method necessary for supporting the territorial schools. The act further described the post of county superintendent and called for the office to make apportionments of school funds from the county treasury to the school districts, to issue or revoke county teaching certificates, and define boundaries and further divide and establish new districts when the population growth made it necessary.

functions were administrative, supervisory and clerical, serving as organs of communication between local school district officials and state authority. Local property taxes were virtually the sole means of support for the county board and the county superintendent's office. The close proximity of local school board members gave greater day-to-day contact with the county board authorities.

Following statehood, the enormous influx of people created a surge in the growth of Washington's public school system. Between 1872 and 1908, the number of school age children in the state rose from 5,000 to 215,688 and, by 1908, there were 2,961 local school districts in the State of Washington, with 2,858 public schools in operation.[5] Because of the increasing proliferation of schools and local school districts, interest grew in the consolidation of smaller neighbouring districts. Henry Dewey, Washington State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1908, believed that centralisation would bring about 'better libraries, better courses of study, more supervision, better playgrounds, better high school facilities, and fewer teacher changes'.[6] Dewey was instrumental in the passage of the Code Commission Report during the 1909 legislature. The report reasserted the power of the State Superintendent and the State Board of Education, with county bodies now serving as extensions, overseeing the supervision and administration of state rules and regulations at the local school district level. The immediate result was to reduce the number of local school districts to 2,710 by 1910.[7]

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[5] Gary P. Reul, 'History of Intermediate School District in Washington and the Nation' (Mount Vernon, 1986), p. 12.
[6] State of Washington, Department of Education, *Twentieth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Olympia, 1910).
[7] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, October 23, 1963.

In the following generation, consolidation received reinforcement with the School District Reorganization Act of 1941, which brought the number of local school districts in the State of Washington down from 1,323 at the beginning of the 1940s, to 672 by the end of the decade.[8] This act provided for new and enlarged school districts in order to bring about 'a more nearly equalized educational opportunity for pupils of the common schools, a higher degree of uniformity amongst districts, and a wiser use of public funds expended for the support of the common school system'.[9] County committees on reorganisation were to be responsible for preparing a district-wide plan, for scheduling public hearings and finally for submitting a plan to the State Superintendent's office. The reorganisation plan was then to be put to a popular vote in the various school districts statewide.

During a public hearing on July 25, 1941, Bellingham School Board member, Arthur Shingle, felt that presenting the reorganisation plan to the electorate was futile, noting, 'I don't think we could stir enough mental curiosity to get enough people to the polls'.[10] However, the proposed elimination of the Meridian School District situated on the fringes of the much larger Bellingham School District caused angry residents to voice their concerns. 'The most vicious thing about the school reorganization plan is that it eliminates home rule and takes away the right of self-determination from the already organized school districts'.[11] Reverend Richardson considered the plan un-American, noting that

[8] State of Washington, Laws of 1941, Chapter 248, *School District Reorganization* (Olympia, 1941). Similar legislation was enacted in eighteen other U.S. States in the early 1940s. C.O. Fitzwater, *State School System Development, Patterns and Trends* (Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 24.

[9] State of Washington, Laws of 1941, Chapter 248, *School District Reorganisation Act*. During the process of district reorganization, consideration was to be given to the educational needs of local communities, to economies in transportation and administration costs, to the future use of existing school buildings and sites, and finally to the 'convenience and well being of the pupils'.

[10] Whatcom County School District Reorganization Hearing, Bellingham, Washington, July 25, 1941.

[11] *Blaine Journal*, July 31, 1941, Whatcom County School District Reorganization Hearing, August 11, 1941. Section 12 of the School District Reorganization Act of 1941 stated, 'whenever a new school district is established . . . [that includes] a school district containing a city with a population of more than 7,000, the directors of the district so included shall become the directors of the new district'. State of Washington,

'we are not under a dictatorship yet'.[12] Other residents were concerned over the possible death of community interest as a result of reorganisation, with many voicing suspicions over the alleged benefits of 'bigger schools'.[13] As one resident stated, 'In bigger schools the children do not get the work supervision or the education of the small schools. Education is not to teach them to use their hands; it is to think'.[14]

The reorganisation plan was put to a popular vote in Whatcom County on September 22, 1941, with 91 percent voting for, 8 percent against, and the city of Bellingham accounting for 67 percent of the 'yes' votes.[15] Whatcom then went from 60 school districts to nine during the 1940s.[16] Although the purpose of the original legislation was to draw in outlying districts, the law gave significant financial and electoral control to the enlarged school districts, which required less direct supervision by county administration. Despite continuing opposition, the consolidation of school districts continued during the post-war period.[17]

The importance of school district boundaries, and the resulting loss or increase in tax revenue, was evident in the Bellingham School District's 13-year battle to acquire the

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School District Reorganization Act of 1941. The Laws of 1941 further stipulated that all non-high school districts were to be eliminated. The Meridian School District had fewer than 7,000 residents, and did not operate a high school.

[12] Whatcom County School District Reorganization Hearing, August 11, 1941.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] 'School Change Approved by Voters', *The Bellingham Herald*, September 23, 1941. The heavily populated centres voted strongly in favour of the change and most of the smaller 'outside' districts voted against.

[16] County Superintendent Henry Turner's dedication to the future of district reorganisation is evident by his resignation on October 23, 1941 to take a position in the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Reorganisation Department. Bellingham School District, Bellingham School Board Minutes, November 9, 1941.

[17] In 1940, there were 117,108 public school districts in the United States; a decade later the number had dropped to 83,718. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Statistics of State School Systems; Statistics for Elementary and Secondary School Systems 1929-1930 to 1990-1991* (Washington D.C., 1992).

unorganised territory of the Cascade Mountain Range in the eastern part of Whatcom County. As the result of an oversight, the Cascade territory had originally not been included in the boundaries of any school district. In 1935, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pearl Wanamaker, found 'little, if any, taxable value in this area' hence, 'disposition of the territory' was deemed unnecessary.[18] Then, during the 1941 process of reorganisation, Superintendent Wanamaker chose to leave the Cascade territory out for 'fear that arguments would arise to slow up the process'.[19]

The debate over the Cascade territory started with a letter from Mrs. Clarence McGuire to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Patrick Irvin, in 1954. Despite being a resident of Whatcom County, the McGuires' son attended high school in Skagit County for geographical reasons (Concrete High was located only 12 miles from the family home whereas the nearest Whatcom school was a distance of more than 60 miles).[20] Because the Concrete School District was not receiving attendance monies for the McGuires' son, the district refused to provide bus transportation and to resolve the problem Superintendent Irvin offered to reimburse the family.

In the midst of this debate, Puget Sound Power and Light was given permission to build a dam in the lower region of Baker Lake in 1955. Not only was this territory federal property (which meant that the school district would receive federal subsidies), but the

[18] Letter to William O'Neil, Superintendent of Whatcom County Schools from Pearl A. Wanamaker, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, July 20, 1949. School District Reorganisation files, Washington State Archives, Northwest Region.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Whatcom County Board of Education, Minutes, September 23, 1954.

area also now included a multi-million dollar hydroelectric plant.[21] The potential revenues proved irresistible for both the Whatcom and Skagit County school districts, and legal wrangling over the Mount Baker Dam area lasted years with many students left hanging in the balance and denied admission to district schools.[22] A resolution was finally reached in 1962 when the unorganised territory was divided between Whatcom and Skagit County, with the tax receipts and government revenue divided 60 to 40 percent between them.[23]

The Mount Baker Dam controversy showed the scale of finance in school administration, a factor clearly involved in the creation in 1947 of the Washington State School Directors Association (WSSDA), comprising members of the county and local school boards across the State, serving as an agent of coordination in policy making, control and management of local school districts.[24] Then, in 1955, two further acts gave additional financial power to the county offices. One of these paid for cooperative programmes with local school districts, together with the power to consider consolidation (though none in fact exercised it).[25] More importantly, the other altered the threshold

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[21] Investment in the dam and power plant totalled $35,000,000. Bellingham School District, Bellingham School Board Minutes, April 15, 1957. In 1959, the assessed valuation for Puget Sound Power and Light totalled $6,508,575. Bellingham School Board Minutes, November 9, 1959.

[22] In 1957, the Concrete School District refused attendance to four students because they lived in Whatcom County. Concrete later agreed to allow the students to attend school only after Puget Sound Power and Light reimbursed the district for the cost of the schooling. In 1958, Concrete denied Whatcom students admission on any basis.

[23] In November 1957, the Whatcom County Board of Education had proposed a 80-20 split with Skagit County. Not surprisingly, the Skagit County Board of Education rejected the proposal. The Whatcom County Board then presented a proposal for a 75-25 split, which was again rejected. Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, November 5, 1957. Whatcom presented Skagit with a third proposal calling for a 62.5 percent Whatcom and 37.5 percent Skagit split. Skagit again rejected the division. In June 1958, the Skagit County Board of Education proposed a 40 percent to Whatcom and 60 percent to Skagit split, a proposal that was rejected by the Whatcom County Board of Education. Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, June 2, 1958.

[24] State of Washington, Washington State School Directors Association Handbook (Olympia, 1958). In a report submitted to the State on reorganisation of County Superintendents of Schools, Clinton Reynolds noted that as the process of consolidation progressed, the county superintendent's office and the county board of education came to be regarded as more of a service organisation. Clinton S. Reynolds, 'Report of the State Committee on Reorganization of Offices of County Superintendent of Schools' (Olympia, 1960).

[25] State of Washington, Laws of 1955, Chapter 395, *Education-Organization of School Districts*, pp. 1707-1708. Chapter 395 supported consolidation based on eight factors; to equalise educational opportunities by

criterion of 40 percent voter participation in special levy or bond issues from state to local elections.[26]

During the 1950s the baby boom generation was entering the public school system, and because its effects were felt disproportionately in urban rather than rural environments, it reinforced the already existing disparities between school districts. The escalating number of school age children prompted state legislatures to regard school district reorganisation as not merely a way to achieve greater equalisation and efficiency, but as a necessity for the future of American democracy. As a local Bellingham official stated in 1959, 'We are living in the most revolutionary times in the history of the human race and that a future for Americans is impossible without education [sic]'.[27]

The move to replace the office of county superintendent with the Intermediate School District began in September 1958. At their annual meeting, the county superintendents adopted a reorganisation plan that called upon the State Board of Education to appoint a committee who were to prepare a comprehensive report by 1961 outlining an organisational structure that would result in the reduction of Washington's 39 existing county superintendent offices into 13 or 14 intermediate school district bodies.[28] The plan was to be completed in time for consideration by the 1961 state legislature. In December

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creating larger units of administration and areas of school attendance, to equalise the tax burden by reducing disparities in per-pupil valuation, for geographic reasons, for the convenience and welfare of pupils, to improve educational opportunities through the improvement of school programmes, to expand high school boundaries for efficiency, to ensure the future effective utilisation of existing buildings, and to other matters such as the equalisation of capital and tax rates.

[26] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, November 13, 1956. Since more people voted in state elections versus local elections, Chapter 93 of the Laws of 1955 made it easier for school districts to raise money.

[27] Bellingham School District, Bellingham School Board Minutes, January 12, 1959.

[28] State of Washington, Laws of 1959, Chapter 216, *County School Superintendents*, p. 1016.

1960, the State Board of Education adopted the report, deeming the county unit outmoded. But the bill to embody the proposals did not pass in the 1961 legislative session.

As county board members came to grips with the concept of intermediate districts, progress towards unification was slow. Throughout the mid-1960s, joint meetings of the Skagit, Whatcom, Island and San Juan County Boards of Education were held to discuss the advisability of creating one intermediate school district that would incorporate all four of these northwestern Washington counties. The combining of funds became the most heated issue. Under the new laws each county was to contribute a proportionate share to the proposed intermediate school district's (ISD) budget.[29] However, the question of 'who owns what' and the loss of local control over district finances remained in contention.[30]

Any proposed ISD was also to conform to natural geographic areas, a point which the San Juan County board members debated for although the San Juan Islands are located just off the shores of Whatcom and Skagit counties, travel between these areas is difficult. Redistricting was to be organised on the basis of registered voters, rather than the number of school age children, a stipulation that again favoured the larger school districts.[31] These issues remained unresolved and any steps towards consolidation continued to be viewed with suspicion by county offices. During a meeting of the Washington Association of County Boards of Education (WACBE) held in 1962, a resolution was presented whereby

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[29] State of Washington, Laws of 1965, Chapter 139, *Schools-Intermediate Districts*, p. 1407.
[30] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, November 30, 1965. The Superintendent of Schools for the ISD #105, A.W. Allen, reported on the difficulties experienced following the consolidation of Yakima and Kittitas Counties, and Goldendale and Bickleton of Klickitat County in Eastern Washington. At the annual WACBE meeting, Allen reported that Klickitat County was 'refusing to pay the prorated share' because they felt the ISD offered a 'duplication of services'. Whatcom County Board of Education, Annual Meeting, 1966.
[31] In the March 1963 Whatcom County Board of Education elections, the Bellingham electorate accounted for 68 percent of the total votes cast. Whatcom County Superintendent of Schools official tally of votes, March 27, 1963 (Whatcom County, Washington).

county board members were given the opportunity to assume responsibility for school district organisation. In 1962, members voted down assumption of responsibility and, when asked to reconsider their collective decision in 1964, they again did not wish to oversee the task of consolidating county units.

However, in 1965 the legislators did call on the county superintendents to submit a statewide intermediate district proposal incorporating a minimum of 20,000 students, and an assessed valuation of $100,000,000 or more in each district, feeling that the 'territorial organization of the intermediate districts may be more readily adapted to the changing economic pattern and education program in the state'.[32] The Intermediate School District (ISD) was to allow for greater financial and educational adaptability, and ultimately to provide for a greater degree of equal educational opportunity. The teeth in this request were that no state funds would be allocated to county units until a plan was adopted.[33] The law further proposed that registered voters in all local school districts were to elect the superintendent of the newly organised intermediate school districts with election filing in the most populous county. The Intermediate School District board was given the same duties as the County Board of Education.[34]

County board members struggled with the new demands being made of them. In November 1967, a member of the Whatcom County Board of Education felt 'the board

[32] State of Washington, Chapter 139, Laws of 1965, *Schools-Intermediate District*, p. 1395.
[33] State of Washington, *Schools-Intermediate District*, p. 1396. Prior to adoption, a reorganisation plan required approval from the State Board of Education.
[34] By the early 1960s, the duties performed by the county board had diminished. The county board's five functions included; advise in the preparation of courses of study, rules and regulations for the circulating libraries, advise on textbook recommendations; adopt the rules and regulations for schools within the county; approve the county superintendent's budget and certify to the board of county commissioners and to the State Board of Education estimates of the amounts needed, and assist the county superintendent in the selection of district staff.

needed to be more active'.[35] By July 1968, the County Board took up the topic of how best to disseminate information to local school board members, 'as many of them do not have a very clear idea of what the county office does and what its function is'.[36] To help dispel this ambiguity, the Whatcom County Superintendent of Schools, Frederick Chesterley, decided to 'workup' a summary of the county office activities for the school board members to 'help clarify what they do'.[37] Throughout the 1960s, the County Board met monthly (for approximately one hour) with an agenda centred largely around issues dealing with capital improvements, teacher training, media purchases, budget approvals, safety issues and athletics.[38] Even as late as 1968, however, it was recorded that 'the board is not too familiar with the budgeting procedures', and since it was required to approve the school district's budget, it sought to engage an accountant as an advisor.[39]

Fears over the loss of local control of public education halted the unification process by the mid-1960s. The voluntary approach to school district reorganisation that was introduced by the laws of 1965 had produced only five Intermediate School Districts by December 1966, involving just 12 of Washington's 39 counties.[40] The feasibility of the ISD was discussed at length during local county board meetings and the WACBE annual meetings throughout the mid-1960s. The arguments in favour of a statewide plan for

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[35] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, November 23, 1967.
[36] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, July 8, 1968.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, 1960-1969.
[39] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, April 8, 1968.
[40] Constantine Angelos, 'Dr. Kruzner to Head School in 1 of 5 New Intermediate Districts', *The Seattle Times*, December 26, 1966. In several states, legislation had been highly effective in district reorganisation; in others, redistricting progress was slow. Only six States (Florida, Hawaii, Louisiana, Maryland, Utah, and West Virginia) had not made changes in their educational organisations since 1945. Six other States (Alabama, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Virginia) had more school districts in the fall of 1966 than they had in 1945. Of the remaining 38 States, 26 had reduced their district numbers by more than one-half, 18 by more than three-fourths, and six by more than 90 percent. Between 1945 and 1966, the State of Washington had reduced the number of local districts from 691 to 360, a 47.9 percent reduction. The total number of school districts in the United States was reduced from 37,019 in 1961 to 23,390 in 1966. Fitzwater, *State School System Development*, p. 11.

consolidation were given as, firstly, an intermediate district would reduce administrative duplication and 'possibly' lead to 'greater efficiency'.[41] The ISD would also enable the various districts to have access to special and cooperative programmes for their children, services not previously available due to a lack of population. Secondly, an ISD was capable of providing leadership i.e., 'a firm, strong, interested, and protective executive,' with a 'clear-cut channel of authority'.[42] Thirdly, the ISD was advisable because it provided 'a reliable full-time trunk line of communication between the state educational agency and the local school districts'.[43]

It was noted by the WACBE that roughly only '20 of the incumbents in 38 existing county offices can be said to effectively communicate federal and state educational problems to the local districts lying within their counties'.[44] Fourthly, the intermediate district could provide a more equalised educational opportunity to administrators, teachers and students. Finally, the board members recognised that the intermediate service district would cost more, but 'would not have any more powers than the county superintendency now has,' though these changes would come only if 'they desire a service'.[45] Generally, the demerits were reiterated as the loss of control of education on the local level, and the travel inconvenience to district superintendents.[46]

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[41] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, January 23, 1968.
[42] Washington Association of County Boards of Education, Annual Meeting, December 1, 1966.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, February 6, 1968.
[46] Patrick Irvin, Whatcom County Superintendent of Schools, was in support of reorganisation for he strongly favoured an expansion of vocational-technical offerings to the youth of Bellingham. According to Irvin, cooperative financing would allow for the construction and operation of additional voc-tech facilities in the Bellingham area. Patrick Irvin to Louis Bruno, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, June 16, 1964, Files of the Washington State Archives, Northwest Region (Bellingham, Washington).

Frustrated by a lack of cooperation at the county level, Joe Chandler of the University of Washington Bureau of School Research and former Washington Education Association Executive Secretary, implored WACBE members to 'submerge [their] reluctance to act' adding, 'we [educators] have a tendency to be overcareful', and called for county officials to embrace the forthcoming changes in the organisational structure, a move that was deemed imperative for 'good schools and good government'.[47] As determined advocates of intermediate school districts, in late 1967 the State Board of Education and State Superintendent of Public Instruction allocated 20 cents more per child to the intermediate districts than to the county superintendent offices.[48] Foreshadowing the inevitable, the president of the WACBE, Arthur C. Brown, sent a letter to all county board of education members stating, 'The coming session of our Legislature may provide major changes in our duties and responsibilities'.[49]

By February 1968, non-compliance at the county level prompted the State Board of Education to prescribe guidelines for immediate action. Throughout 1968, discussion over intermediate district boundary lines ensued, with little tangible progress. First, amidst a flurry of debate, on May 24, 1968 the State Board of Education placed a moratorium on all actions concerning intermediate district boundaries. Then, on September 11, 1968, the State Board rescinded the moratorium; the board was once more open to new proposals for boundary considerations of intermediate districts. At their December 5, 1968 meeting, the State Board of Education, faced with continuing controversy over ISD boundary issues,

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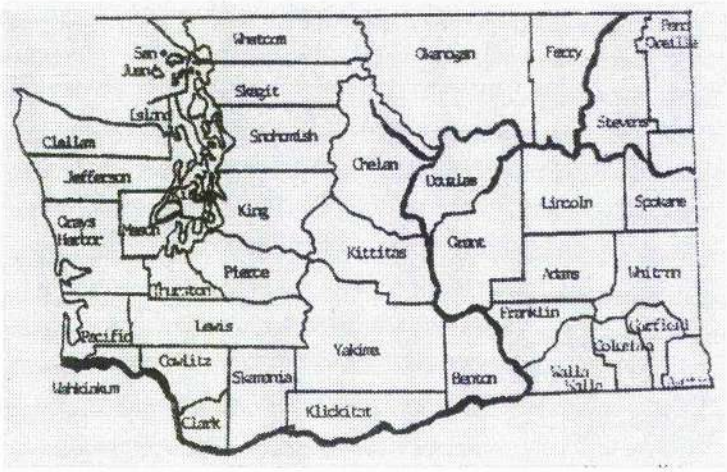
[47] Washington Association of County Boards of Education, Minutes of Annual Meeting, Appendix B, December 1, 1966, Washington State Archives, Northwest Region.
[48] Whatcom County Board of Education Minutes, January 23, 1968.
[49] Arthur C. Brown, President of the Washington Association of County Board of Education, to all County/Intermediate District Board of Education members, January 4, 1967, Files of the Washington State Archives, Northwest Region.

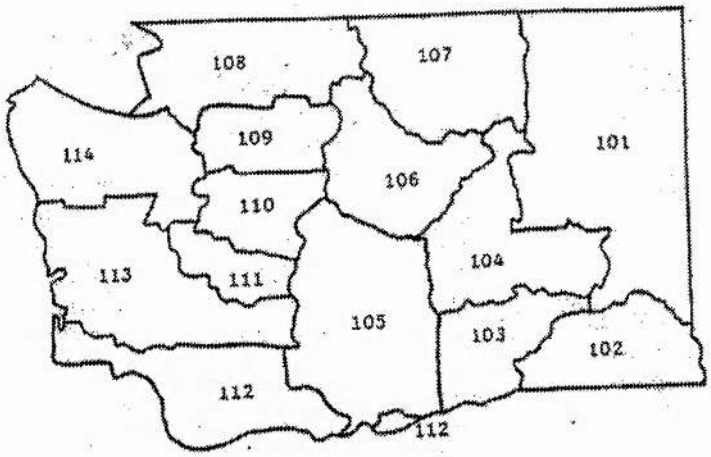
suspended all discussion and action taken on intermediate districts until after the 1969 legislative session.

Early in the 1969 legislative session, the WACBE submitted House Bill 419, to create a mandatory statewide intermediate school district system before July 1, 1969.[50] Each newly created ISD was to be no larger than 7,500 square miles, with a school enrolment potential of 15,000, with due consideration given to geographical features.[51] The ISD was to have a seven-member board that would select the ISD superintendent (no longer would it be an elective office). The Governor approved the Intermediate School District law on April 25, 1969 and, throughout April and May, the State Board of Education created 14 intermediate school districts, including the formation of the Intermediate School District #108 which incorporated the Whatcom, Skagit, San Juan and Island County superintendencies.



Washington's 39 counties, Source: Gary P. Reul, 'History of Intermediate School District in Washington and the Nation' (Mount Vernon, 1986).

[50] State of Washington, Laws of 1969, 1st extra session, Chapter 176, *Intermediate School Districts and Superintendents*, p. 1278.
[51] State of Washington, *Intermediate School Districts and Superintendents,* p. 1312.



Intermediate School Districts 1969-1973, Source: Gary P. Reul, 'History of Intermediate School District in Washington and the Nation' (Mount Vernon, 1986).

The transition to an intermediate school district system was relatively straightforward for the King County superintendency and the Seattle School District. As one of the first to be reorganised, the Intermediate School District #110 was established in January 1967, incorporating King County, Bainbridge Island and Kitsap County. Having served as the King County superintendent for 17 years, Donald Kruzner was appointed superintendent of the new ISD #110.[52] With the exception of Bainbridge Island, the ISD #110 served the same 21 school districts that made up the public school system of King County. The shift to an intermediate school system was eased by the continuity in administration and district boundaries. Superintendent Kruzner viewed the administrative change as a 'new suit of clothes,' a 'turning point for a dedicated staff of people'.[53]

In the 1960s, King County and the Seattle School District began a process of reorganisation that focused on decentralisation. The growing complexity of the urban school district prompted a move to break the district down into a more workable unit.

[52] Until the November 1967 elections, the King and Kitsap County School Boards served as board members for the new ISD. Angelos, 'Dr. Kruzner to Head Schools in 1 of 5 New Intermediate School Districts', *The Seattle Times*, December 26, 1966.
[53] *Ibid.*

Following the Ocean Hill-Brownsville example in New York City, the Seattle School District was divided into three regions, each with its own superintendent in 1969.[54] As the Bundy Report argued, decentralisation would increase community awareness and participation in the development of educational policy, open new channels and offer new incentives to educational innovation, achieve greater flexibility in the administration of the schools, enhance a sense of community and encourage coordination and cooperation.[55] The redistribution of power was a means of revitalising educational reform.[56] According to Mario Fantini, 'school reform needs not only ideas but human resources and dynamic support from the public and the profession . . . the most powerful energy source: parents and the community-at-large'.[57] As Fantini argued, what kept many urban parents from participating in school reform was 'their low level of education relative to the teachers'.[58] Another factor was the growing size and impersonality of the public school systems in large cities.[59] Decentralising the public school system was seen as a way for school officials to reconnect with the needs of Seattle's black community.

The goals and objectives of the newly created Intermediate School District were defined as, 'carrying out the laws of the State of Washington; to enforce the rules and regulations of the State Board of Education and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and to act as a service organization for local school districts'.[60] Created to execute state educational policies, the ISD was, legally, a corporate body with the ability to 'sue or be

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[54] Efforts to decentralise the New York City Schools began in 1967 with a Mayor's Advisory Panel and the subsequent report entitled *Reconnection for Learning: A Community School System for New York City* (referred to popularly as the Bundy Report).
[55] As cited in Marilyn Gittell and Alan G. Heves, eds., *The Politics of Urban Education* (New York, 1969), p. 262.
[56] Mario D. Fantini, 'Intervention Alternatives for Urban Education', in Harvard Educational Review, *Equal Educational Opportunity* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 245.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] Intermediate School District #108, Policy Manual (1970).

sued, and purchase or sell personal property and real estate'.[61] As an agent of the state superintendent, the ISD was responsible for processing 'all school district reports to the state, for appropriating state money to districts, for approving budgets of second and third class school districts, for approving district contracts, and for checking health and certification records of all district employees'.[62] Of fundamental importance is the fact that the state constitution, the state laws and the Regulations set forth by the State Board of Education, defined the policies of the ISD. Public education was now being brought much more effectively into the total administrative structure of the State of Washington.[63]

Following its creation, the Intermediate School District office initially fulfilled various general and supervisory duties, as well as functioning as a cooperative agent, making available to all schools within their district audio-visual services, and school consultants who specialised in curriculum, psychology, speech therapy, library and health education.[64] Each member of the ISD board of directors was to serve a four-year term of office, on a rotating basis, with vacancies filled by appointment until the next general election.[65] The seven-member board's most important function was the 'execution of written policies'.[66] Any new policy proposed by a board member, a school district employee, a citizen or the ISD superintendent, was to be 'referred to an appropriate committee for detailed study'.[67]

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[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] The rapid demise of the small school district is deplored by Gordon Swanson who wrote, 'If such a demise in units of local democratic government – the greatest decline in the history of the world – were to have occurred in a foreign country, American legislators would have been outraged'. According to Swanson, Conant's legacy gave legitimacy to the dissolution of the nation's small school districts. Gordon I. Swanson, 'The Hall of Shame', *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 74, No. 10 (June 1993), p. 797.
[64] The intermediate school district was to take advantage of the new funding to develop cooperative programmes. The need for these services increased as a result of the shift in educational goals during the 1960s, which placed greater emphasis on individualised study. The ISD gave smaller school districts access to these previously unavailable services as many could not afford a specialised consultant commensurate with student needs.
[65] Intermediate Service District #108, Policy Manual (1970).
[66] *Ibid.*
[67] *Ibid.*

This transition represents a dramatic shift in public school administration for prior to the formation of the ISD office, and at the height of its authority, the county superintendent's office had been responsible for more than 80 statutory powers, some of which provided for direct controls over local school districts.

The intermediate districts provided an apparatus for state control that was utilised very early on. During 1969 the strategy was to withhold additional apportionment from high school districts that enrolled fewer than 250 students in grades nine through twelve, and to end the extra funds previously awarded to remote school districts.[68] At the discretion of the county committee and the State Board of Education, small schools were to be eliminated through annexation.[69] The offering of incentives by the state encouraged the relinquishment of local autonomy. Intermediate School Districts were further eligible for state and federal financial grants to help offset any operation or construction costs incurred as a result of the mergers. In return school districts within an ISD were required to offer a comprehensive programme of high school education. Lawmakers and educators in the State of Washington had accepted the rationale of the large comprehensive high school as envisioned by James Conant.

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[68] State of Washington, Laws of 1969, 1st extra session, Chapter 282, *Budget and Appropriations*, p. 2719.
[69] *Ibid.* As the Laws of 1969 stated, when assessing a district with a small high school '. . . the State Board of Education shall determine whether the said district is meeting or capable of meeting the minimum of standards of education set by the board. If the board decides in the negative . . . the Superintendent of Public Instruction may thereupon withhold, in whole or in part, state contributed funds'. State of Washington, *Budget and Appropriations*, p. 1371. The pressure to incorporate the small school district continued with the Laws of 1971, which permitted the county commissioner to levy a tax ' against all non-high school districts . . . in the aggregate amount as certified to them by the Intermediate School District'. State of Washington, Laws of 1971, 1st extra session, Chapter 282, *Intermediate School Districts*, pp. 1472-1473.

Legislators also wanted to investigate ways of enabling the districts to serve more effectively as 'regional education centers'.[70] However, these developments caused such concern that on November 9, 1970, the Joint Committee on Education reported that 'there is a general sentiment . . . that extensive use of authority' by the intermediate school district 'could cause serious disruption to the operation and management of local school districts'.[71] The Laws of 1969 contain numerous amendments calling for a more direct relationship between state and local agencies by circumventing the intermediate school district office. The increased salience of the ISD created an imbalance of power against the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the State Board of Education. To remedy the situation, the Laws of 1969 drastically reduced the authority of the ISD in the final approval of budgets and school construction.[72] The Joint Committee recommended that 'intermediate school districts shall perform only such assistance . . . as are expressly requested' by the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the State Board of Education.[73]

Placed under constant scrutiny, the intermediate school district was again the focus of legislation in 1971, which eliminated the regulatory, supervisory and quasi-judicial powers of the intermediate district.[74] The ISD was now to serve solely as a liaison service between local school districts and the state educational agencies. Control over curriculum, staffing and the budget was taken out of the jurisdiction of the intermediate and local school district offices and given to the State Board. Non-compliance with the State of Washington and the State Board of Education would have decimated a school's operating

[70] State of Washington, Chapter 176, Laws of 1969, 1st extra session, *Intermediate School Districts and Superintendents*, p. 1292.
[71] State of Washington, Joint Committee on Education, *The Intermediate School District Act of 1969: A Report to the Washington State Legislature by the Subcommittee on School Organizations and Management of the Joint Committee on Education* (Olympia, 1970).
[72] State of Washington, Chapter 176, Laws of 1969, 1st extra session, *Intermediate School Districts and Superintendents*, pp.1289-1290.
[73] State of Washington, *The Intermediate School District Act of 1969.*
[74] State of Washington, Chapter 282, Laws of 1971, *Intermediate School Districts.*

budget for by the early 1970s state funds constituted between 55 and 65 percent of a school district's annual receipts.[75] During the recession of the early 1970s, school districts suffered a dramatic loss of revenue as a result of 1971 property taxation laws, which reduced assessment rates by 50 percent.[76] Subsequent to the taxation laws of 1971, the Senate Joint Resolution reduced the 40-mill school levy limit to 20 mills.[77] Lowering the taxation rate caused local school districts to become more dependent upon state and federal receipts to fulfil their budgetary needs.

State control of educational financing was further reinforced when, commencing in early 1975, the mandatory county appropriations to the ISD were to be phased out over four years, with replacement funding coming from the state. Furthermore, the intermediate school districts were to 'provide for their own housing and related costs,' and 'pay for the costs of their board member elections'.[78] The Joint Committee's argument for the dissolution of financial ties to the intermediate school districts was that, as part of the public common school system, the intermediate district was 'regional in geographical scope and state in functional scope'.[79] County resources were meant for local governance, not for state-level functions. As the committee pointed out, the practical concern for local school districts was a fear that, during recessions, county funds might be withdrawn from

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[75] The average amount of State funds received by local school districts in Washington State during the 1966-67 school year was 57.5 percent. The national average for the same year was 39.9 percent. Of the 26 States having more than 200 school districts only seven provided higher proportions of State school aid than the national average (Texas, New York, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Washington, and Arizona). Fitzwater, *State School System Development*, pp. 29-30. By 1982, the amount of State funds received by a local school district had risen to 75.2 percent (the State of Washington ranked 5th highest in the United States). Ernest Boyer, *High School, A Report on Secondary Education in America* (New York, 1983), p. 289.
[76] State of Washington, Chapter 288, Laws of 1971, 1st extra session, *Property Taxation*, p. 1520.
[77] Intermediate School District #108, School Directors Association Minutes, May 19, 1972.
[78] State of Washington, Laws of 1974, 3rd extra session, Chapter 75, *Intermediate School Districts*, pp.141-143. Prior to 1974, most of the intermediate school district offices had been housed in county owned facilities.
[79] State of Washington, Joint Committee on Education, *Funding of Intermediate School District Operations: A Report to the Washington State Legislature* (Olympia, 1972), p. 11.

public education. Therefore, the proposed 'phase-out' of mandated county support of the ISD meant the provision of a secure revenue source in place of an unsecured source.[80] As a result of the break in financial ties between the county government and the intermediate school district, county bodies no longer had control over budget reviews or ISD expenditures.[81] As the process of consolidation continued, the 1975 legislature passed a law that changed the name of the Intermediate School District to the current Educational Service District, giving more emphasis to the organisation as a service body.

Controversy continued to surround the Educational Service District over the issue of equalisation. From 1955, the overt purpose of school district reorganisation was the equalisation of educational opportunities. However, the continued existence of inconsistencies in the availability of programmes and services to local school districts, prompted the State Board of Education to appoint a broad based committee to study the inequities. This committee reported that a further reduction in the number of Education Service Districts was necessary in order to allow equalisation to work more effectively. On December 3, 1976, the State Board moved to consolidate six of the Education Service Districts into three, so that by 1977 there was a total of nine Educational Service Districts operating in the state.[82]

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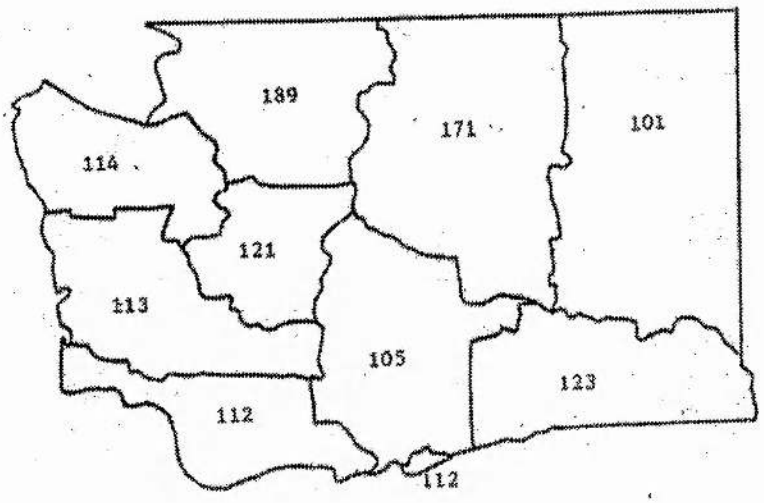
[80] State of Washington, *Funding of Intermediate School District Operations,* p. 12.

[81] Greater dependency on State and federal funds meant, as Bellah and his colleagues have discussed, that school priorities would be 'tied closely' to the priorities set by the economy and the state, priorities that affect funding decisions, fate of programmes and curriculum. Robert Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton, *The Good Society,* (New York, 1991), p. 175.

[82] By 1976, the number of ISD's had been reduced to twelve. ISD #102-103 and ISD #106-107 were combined into two districts. The rationale was again the lowering of administrative costs, a more economic use of staff and increased resources. Consolidation was deemed necessary for further 'equalization of educational opportunity'. State of Washington, State Board of Education Minutes, August 26-27, 1976. The consolidation of local school districts also continued at the national level. In 1960, there were 40,520 public school districts in the United States, by 1979 there were just 16,014. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics; *Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Systems* (Washington D.C., 1992).



Educational Service Districts 1977 to Present, Source: Gary P. Reul, 'History of Intermediate School District in Washington and the Nation' (Mount Vernon, 1986).

Despite efforts to bring about equalisation in public schooling through statewide district reorganisation, there remained glaring disparities in the late 1970s, and in an attempt to deal with these, the legislature enacted the Washington Basic Education Act of 1977. The act was to provide additional funding to local school districts in order to achieve uniformity of programmes without delay. The Act outlined very specific guidelines regarding the basic skills students should master, and the total number of hours recommended for each programme of study.[83] The Basic Education Act also increased the level of state financial support to local school districts from 50 percent to 80 percent. In a study of the dynamics of local education in the State of Washington, Bruce Keith concluded that as laws were changed to increase the amount of state support allocated for school district operations, there was a corresponding greater degree of homogeneity and

[83] As Grant argues, acceptance of federal and state funding 'meant acceptance of accountability to centralized powers at state and federal levels'. Grant, *The World We Created at Hamilton High*, p. 128. Low student achievement scores and the financial constraints of the 1970s recession added fuel to the accountability aim.

standardisation amongst school districts statewide.[84] According to Gerald Grant, increased centralisation in the public schools meant the traditional forms of school authority that evolved under strong personalities were forced to give way to a more bureaucratic, legal-rational form of educational control.[85] Through the process of accommodation to the intermediate district system, local schools across the State of Washington, as in Whatcom and King County, lost administrative, budgetary and curricular autonomy.

The drive to reorganise and consolidate school districts in the State of Washington was based in part on the opinion that the intermediate district would be a more efficient unit of administration. However, the budget records of the Intermediate School District #108, make clear that the new structure did not reduce the duplication in administration as hoped, nor make the system more efficient. A comparison of the financial records for the four county superintendent offices with the Intermediate School District reveals a dramatic increase in the cost of operation over the period 1969 to 1971. In 1969, the general fund expenditures for the Whatcom, Skagit, San Juan and Island county superintendent offices totalled $69,515.62.[86] In its first full year of operation, the Intermediate School District #108's total programme expenditure was $479,858.34, a figure that represents a 590 percent increase over the expenses incurred by the county offices.[87] Thereafter, the cost of operation for the ISD #108 continued to show an annual increase of at least 40 percent per year through the 1970s. Prior to consolidation in 1969, the cost of operation for the four relevant county superintendent offices' averaged an annual increase of just six percent

[84] Bruce Edward Keith, 'The Dynamics of Local Educational Finance, Washington State: 1970-1984' (unpublished Masters Thesis, Western Washington University, 1986), p. 7.
[85] Grant, *The World We Created at Hamilton High*, p. 128.
[86] Operation of County Superintendent Office, Reports from Whatcom, Skagit, San Juan and Island County Superintendent's Service Fund, Expenditures to Date, 1968-69.
[87] Intermediate School District #108, Operation of Intermediate School District Superintendent's Office, Annual Report, Fiscal Year Ending 1971.

during the 1960s. Following the formation of the ISD #108, the agency listed 67 paid employees in 1972,[88] compared to the average ten to twelve individuals employed by the four combined county offices in 1969. The number of new ISD employees reflects the emphasis placed on equality of opportunity in public education beginning in the 1960s.[89] However, in all areas - personnel, instruction, administration, plant operation and maintenance - special programme offerings, transportation, and pupil services - the ISD #108 so far exceeded the expenses incurred by the county bodies that it is difficult, and in some instances impossible, to make a comparison. What this escalating financial commitment showed is how much was being demanded of the ISD as it pursued the development of a full comprehensive programme of public education.

Conant had argued that, in order to offer a full range of elective courses, the large comprehensive high school needed to acquire a larger, more diverse staff. Demands for staff increases placed a significant strain on local school operating budgets for the salaries of certified professional employees represented between 73 to 81 percent of a district's annual operating expense. For the Intermediate School District #108 and the Whatcom county schools, the financial strain was exacerbated by several factors. First, the economic downturn of the late 1960s and early 1970s resulted in fewer tax dollars made available to support schools. As Robert Bellah and his colleagues have argued, ' . . . as long as our income doubled every generation we could afford to concern ourselves with those who had not yet come to share in the general affluence. Once that is no longer the

[88] Personnel employed by the Intermediate School District #108 included: one superintendent, one assistant superintendent, three guidance and counselling personal, ten visiting teachers, two health personnel, nine secretarial and clerical personnel and 41 special education personnel.
[89] As the largest district office, the Whatcom County Superintendent of Schools employed four individuals, one superintendent, one chief deputy or assistant superintendent, one secretary and one individual designated as 'extra help'.

case we resent the use of public funds for common provision'.[90] The economic recession resulted in repeated school levy failures in both the Bellingham and the Seattle School Districts.[91] School levy rates in Whatcom County rose from 37.686 mills on assessed property valuation in 1967, to 49.3128 mills in 1970, only to experience a rapid decline to 27.356 mills in 1971, further waning to 9.5696 mills in 1976.[92] The Seattle School District sustained a more dramatic decline in school levy rates with 42.99 mills collected in 1970, 24.84 mills in 1971, 24.41 mills in 1974, reaching a low of .81 mills on assessed valuation in 1976.[93] After 1976, the levy rate in the Seattle School District fluctuated between a high of 7.50 mills in 1977 and 1.87 mills in 1982. Brian Keith concluded that the level of millage passed 'reflects wealth based inequalities across districts'.[94]

To compound matters, the special election results for Whatcom County show that voters were more likely to turn down a proposition when it dealt with an increase for the school district general fund, money that was specified for textbooks, teaching materials and 'adequate salaries', whereas voters were willing to support general obligation bonds designated for capital improvements.[95] Voters were clearly more comfortable with the tangibility of bond issues. Demographically, the influx of the baby boom generation, along with the tightening of compulsory attendance laws in 1969, resulted in 59.6 percent

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[90] Bellah, *et al., The Good Society*, p. 88.
[91] Seattle voters also used levy elections to show their discontent with school desegregation.
[92] Oscillating tax rates had a significant impact on the taxpayer and the state's school system. At a peak of 49.3128 mills of assessed valuation, a taxpayer with a home valued at $100,000 paid an annual property tax of $4,931.28 (1 mill is equal to 1/10th of a cent). By comparison, assessed at a rate of 9.5696 mills, the same taxpayer would pay an annual tax of just $956.96.
[93] The fluctuation in tax rates resulted in wildly varying revenue receipts for the Seattle School District. In 1970, with a rate in mills of 42.99 and an assessed valuation of $1,230,528,529, tax receipts totalled $52,643,769. During the height of the recession, the rate in mills dropped to .81 in 1976, and with an assessed valuation of $7,222,727,956, the district's local property tax revenue receipts totalled just $5,839,947. Seattle School District, Tax Levy Rate Comparison 1946-82 (Seattle, 1983).
[94] Keith, *The Dynamics of Local Educational Finance*, p. 46.
[95] *Ibid.*

increase in high school enrolment between 1959 and 1972.[96] The Bellingham School District and the ISD #108 sustained appreciable financial setbacks at a time when the funds were most needed to expand the district's comprehensive programme.

Escalating enrolment figures, coupled with an economic recession, were circumstances further complicated by an increase in student participation in special and vocational classes. The number of Seattle School District students registered in special and vocational education classes increased from 2,360 in 1969 to 12,131 in 1980.[97] In the Seattle School District the cost per pupil for special education rose from $1,756.90 in 1969 to $5,712.86 in 1977.[98] The cost per pupil for vocational programmes within the Seattle School District increased from $886.66 in 1969 to $2,419.26 in 1977.[99] The higher cost to educate students in the special and vocational education programmes added to the school district's already laden budgetary obligations.

By 1977, the goal of school district reorganisation that was first introduced to the State Board of Education in 1941 had come to fruition. Reorganisation had reduced Washington's 39 county offices into nine Educational Service Districts, thereby providing

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[96] In 1959 there were 8,258,000 students enrolled in public high schools in the United States. By 1972 this figure had increased to 13,848,000. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1992). The urgency of the problem was accentuated by massive population shifts following the end of the Second World War. Since 1950, the nation's urban areas have mushroomed in size whilst the farm population has decreased from 23 million in 1950 to about 12 million in 1965. As reported by Fitzwater, between 1950 and 1960 'nearly four out of every five counties had a net migration loss'. Fitzwater, *State School System Development*, p. 7.

[97] Prior to the late 1970s, the Seattle School District did not make a distinction between 'special' and 'vocational' per capita cost. However, in 1982 the district budget summary shows that 9,422 students were enrolled in special education and 2,709 in vocational education.

[98] By 1982, the cost per pupil for special education had risen to $9,450.77. In comparison, the cost per pupil for secondary schooling in the Seattle School District was $792.79 in 1969, and $1,948.00 in 1977. Seattle School District, *Annual Budgets*, 1969-1982. The Bellingham School District cost for special education increased from $1,237.19 in 1969 to $2,831.71 in 1976. Bellingham School District, Annual Budgets, 1969-1976.

[99] Seattle School District, *Annual Budgets*, 1969-1982. By 1982, the cost per pupil for vocational education increased to $3,524.62. The Bellingham School District cost per pupil for vocational education increased from $952.17 in 1969 to $1,568.66 in 1976. Bellingham School District, Annual Budgets, 1969-1976.

specialised services to communities across the state, both large and small. A 1981-82 performance audit concluded the ESD system was strong in the areas of fiscal management and cost-effective cooperative programmes.[100] However, in a concluding statement, the audit report indicated the ESDs were relying far too much on federal funding, 'with one district receiving 67 percent of its operating budget in this manner'.[101] The audit further stated, 'There seems to be a great deal of confusion over exactly what an ESD is or does' adding, 'there is no clear statutory definition to answer this question'.[102] Like the county superintendent office before it, the educational service district fought to remain a viable part of the educational system in the state.[103] However precarious, the Educational Service District continues to function because it represents a balance between local autonomy and the direct state control of public education.

[100] State of Washington, Legislative Budget Committee, Performance Audit, 'Educational Service Districts', Report No. 82-3 (Olympia, 1982), p. 5.
[101] State of Washington, Performance Audit, 'Educational Service Districts', p. 47. In 1969, the average ISD received 28 percent of its budget from federal sources, and by 1972 this percentage had increased to 44. State of Washington, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Louis Bruno, *The Intermediate School District in the State of Washington* (Olympia, 1972), p. 20.
[102] State of Washington, Performance Audit, 'Educational Service Districts', p. 7.
[103] The ESD came under scrutiny in 1986 with the Senate Bill 4872, which recommended that the educational service districts become satellite offices with the nine assistant ESD superintendents to be appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Senate Bill 4872 did not pass to the 1986 Legislature. State of Washington, Senate Committee on Education, 'Senate Report on S.B. 4872' (Olympia, 1986).

Chapter 5

Garfield High School 1969-1983

As the 1960s came to a close, Seattle Public Schools faced an uncertain future with the city experiencing a steady decline in public school enrolment. In the fall of 1968, there were 94,002 students registered in the Seattle public schools. Thereafter, the district suffered an annual decline of between 3.7 and 7.2 percent for more than a decade.[1] Contributing factors included employment shifts, white flight to be suburbs, racial harassment, the threat of mandatory desegregation and increasing dropout rates.[2] School officials in Seattle unsuccessfully attempted to stem the enrolment decline and, by 1980,

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[1] In the Seattle School District, the minority student enrolment increased from 15 to 19 percent between 1965-75, though the actual increase in numbers of minority students over the decade was not significant (17,924 to 19,328). The percentage increase of minority students in the Seattle Public Schools was perhaps more affected by the decline in white enrolment, which went from 66,745 in 1970 to 47,164 in 1975. Seattle School District, 'Seattle Plan Program Narrative' (Seattle, 1978), p. 6.

[2] For the decline in the Seattle public school population see Doris H. Pieroth, 'With All Deliberate Caution, School Integration in Seattle, 1954-1968', *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 73:2 (April, 1982); Frank Hanawalt and Robert L. Williams, 'The History of Desegregation in the Seattle Public Schools, 1954-1981' (Seattle, 1981); Quintard Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community, Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era* (Seattle, 1994). The Seattle experience was not unusual. James Coleman found that white families were 'fleeing integration' in both large and middle size cities with a high proportion of blacks, 'at a fairly rapid rate'. James S. Coleman, 'Recent Trends in School Integration', *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 4, No. 7 (July-August 1975), p. 11. As Ronald Formisano argues, most whites of all classes sought to avoid 'contact with the black underclass trapped in urban ghettoes'. He further noted that middle-class blacks similarly tried to 'escape the unstable black poor'. Ronald P. Formisano, *Boston Against Busing, Race, Class and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill, 1991), p. xi. *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974) undermined the *Brown* decision and encouraged white flight to the suburbs. In this case the Supreme Court found that federal courts could not normally order desegregation plans that cut across the lines of different school districts. Neighbouring suburban districts could not, therefore, be included in city desegregation plans. Jamin B. Raskin, *We the Students, Supreme Court Decisions For and About Students* (Washington D.C., 2000), p. 183. Again, according to James Coleman, many middle-class parents, black and white, fled to public schools in predominantly white areas 'because so many integrated schools had failed to control lower-class black children and had to spend 90 percent of the time . . . not on instruction but on discipline,' a decision Coleman felt was 'quite understandable'. As cited in Raymond Wolters, *The Burden of Brown, Thirty Years of School Desegregation* (Knoxville, 1984), p. 283.

enrolment in the Seattle public schools had dropped to 48,415 students.[3] The most alarming drop in enrolment occurred in the Central Area secondary schools.[4]

Over the summer of 1968, Garfield High School lost 294 students, of whom 73 could not be located.[5] The official count at Garfield for the 1968-69 academic year was 1,090 students in the three grade levels (10-12); 69 percent were African American, 20 percent white, and 11 percent Asian and other minorities. In a survey conducted by the Seattle School District, the most striking increase occurred in the number of students leaving Garfield to go to other public schools in the Seattle area, as well as the number of 'pupils leaving for attendance difficulties and/or age (dropouts)'.[6] Many students, both black and white, cited harassment as the primary reason for the transfer.[7] Increasing attendance irregularity, tardiness, academic underachievement and outsiders in the school hallways continued to plague Garfield High. One educator deemed the fall semester of 1968, 'an educational disaster', as 443 students, or 35 percent of the student body, received 'E', or failing grades, in at least two or more subjects.[8] The daily absentee rate was about one-fourth of the school enrolment.

Events took an ominous turn in early 1969. On January 16, as the winter semester was getting underway, the principal at Garfield, Frank Fidler, was attacked and struck in

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[3] Hanawalt and Williams, 'The History of Desegregation in the Seattle Public Schools', p. 68.
[4] *Ibid.* In addition to Garfield High School, the junior high schools in the Central District also suffered dramatic enrolment declines in 1968-1969. Meany Junior High's enrolment dropped from 1,084 to 889, and Washington Junior High School was remodeled and designed to hold 1,200 students, though by January of 1969 the student body was just 527.
[5] Constantine Angelos, 'Enrollment Drop Worries City Schools', *The Seattle Times*, February 23, 1969.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] 'Future Uncertain for 3 Secondary Schools', *The Seattle Times*, February 23, 1969. The total included 161 of 375 sophomores, 158 of 470 juniors and 124 of 432 seniors.

the face by two youths, noted to be 'non-students,' who were roaming the hallways.[9] As one witness recalled, 'the first blow knocked his glasses about 15 feet into a trash can'.[10] The school district responded by placing security officers and detached workers from the Central Area Motivation Program[11] onto school grounds to keep outsiders out and return students to class. Confronted with race disorder and youth disorder, often simultaneously, the Seattle Public Schools appointed a district security investigator, a new chief and assistant chief security officer, and a monitor for the school system's security 'REACT' communication network. In the weeks that followed, conditions at Garfield and within the Central District grew even more volatile. On the night of January 26, 1969, Edwin T. Pratt, the executive director of the Seattle Urban League and a civil rights moderate, was shot to death while standing in the doorway of his home.[12] Just hours later a portable classroom at Garfield High School was firebombed.[13]

This deterioration in school conditions prompted residents of the Central District to organise a workshop to discuss their concerns. Following four months of negotiation, an agreement was reached in January 1969 between the community's Ad Hoc Committee and the Seattle School District, to set up the Central Area School Council (CASC).[14] The 16-

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[9] Three youths were arrested in connection with the assault on Fidler. Two were referred to the Juvenile Court and the third, an eighteen year old, was placed on probation. One of the conditions imposed was that the young men were to stay away from Garfield High School and other schools, 'unless he is a student'. 'Probation Given in Garfield Case', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 15, 1969.

[10] 'Garfield Principal Attacked; 3 Sought', *The Seattle Times*, January 16, 1969.

[11] Organised in 1964 to combat poverty, the Central Area Motivation Program (CAMP) provided job counselling and training, family support services, university recruitment, housing rehabilitation and anti-gang services to the Central Area community.

[12] Pratt lived in the Lake City area of north Seattle, a predominantly white neighbourhood in 1969. The case remains unsolved. Crowley, *Rites of Passage,* p. 134.

[13] The fire was brought under control in about 15 minutes but the damage estimate was approximately $9,000.

[14] The CASC plan was modeled after the Ocean Hill-Brownsville example of community control organised by the New York Board of Education in 1967. See Marilyn Gittell and Alan G. Hevesi, eds., *The Politics of Urban Education* (New York, 1969); Mario D. Fantini, 'Intervention Alternatives for Urban Education', in Harvard Education Review, *Equal Educational Opportunity* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 234-249. As Quintard Taylor argues, the CASC 'offered a panacea to those who were frustrated with the inability of the larger

member multi-racial council was made up of parents from each of the 11 Central Area schools, plus five at-large representatives elected by the community. At the same time the Seattle School District was divided into three regions, each being administered by an Assistant Superintendent who served as an agent of communication between the Area Council and the Superintendent of Seattle Schools. The Assistant Superintendent was to be selected jointly by the council and the School Board. The primary function of the CASC was to review problems and evaluate the school programmes, as well as encourage 'greater participation of the community in the educational process'.[15] By decentralising the area schools, the council hoped to make them more responsive to parental and community needs, although final authority in all matters pertaining to programmes, budgets, facilities, staff and operation of the schools rested with the School Board. Despite good intentions, antagonism developed quickly between the council and the Board. The breakdown began the following year when, 'at the last minute,' the CASC ordered all schools in the Central Area to close on January 15, 1970, the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The School Board countermanded the order, although too late to notify students. The Board publicly questioned the CASC's authority to close the public schools, stating that it 'preferred' the council to be solely an advisory group. Friction continued to plague the relationship between the Seattle School Board and the council, and it was never really clarified what role the CASC was to play in school affairs.

Student unrest in the Central District had come to a head in May 1969. The disquiet began when students from nearby Seattle Central Community College learned of the board of trustees' plan to shift most of the college's academic programmes to the North Seattle

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Seattle community to come to terms with the question of race and education'. Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community*, p. 216.

[15] Seattle School District, 'The Central Area School Council, Major Achievements of the School Council 1969-1977' (Seattle, 1978).

Campus, leaving only vocational programmes for the mostly non-white students attending the Central Branch.[16] Black Student Union (BSU) leaders demanded that one of the all-white community college board of trustees resign so a 'black named by BSU could be seated'.[17] The board of trustees ignored the BSU request, igniting a series of events that culminated at Garfield High on May 26, 1969.[18] On that day shortly after the lunch break, BSU protestors marched from Washington Junior High to Garfield High School, with a police Tactical Squad following them. As Garfield students were being dismissed for the day, the protest 'degenerated into a melee of gas, clubs, Molotov cocktails, and shots from an unseen sniper who hit three policemen, all in the buttocks'.[19] Less threatening was the evening news report which stated, 'Students were picking up anything and everything' to throw at the police, who responded with tear-gas containers.[20] One-third of those arrested were reported to be under the age of 18, some were as young as ten, 11 and 12.[21] According to Walt Crowley, Governor Dan Evans interceded and asked for the resignation of one of the Seattle Community College trustees. Although Carl Dakan resigned, Evans refused to name a new trustee suggested by the BSU. A compromise was reached on July 24th.[22]

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[16] Crowley, *Rites of Passage*, p. 136.
[17] Crowley, *Rites of Passage*, pp. 136-137.
[18] On May 22, 1969, BSU members demonstrated in front of the old Edison Technical School located in the Central District. The protestors stormed the building and occupied it until the Seattle Police Tactical Squad cleared them out. The following day another group of approximately 200 BSU members assembled at Edison, the group then marched to a nearby elementary school where they 'paraded noisily through its halls'. The protestors returned to Edison where they were met by a police blockade. As the protestors began to bear down on the police line, officers responded by using a hand-held Mace-like spray. Crowley, *Rites of Passage*, p. 137.
[19] Crowley, *Rites of Passage*, p. 136.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] 'McIntosh Asks Why Students Joined In', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 29, 1969. The age of the participants suggests that students from Washington Junior High, Leschi and Minor Elementary Schools participated in the protest at Garfield. Despite the much-publicised civil unrest in the Central District, youth problems in the Seattle area were not defined by race. Though offenses involving juveniles increased by 30 percent between 1967 and 1969 and drug arrests involving juveniles increased 262 percent between 1967 and 1969, the percentage of black youths involved in crime actually decreased by three percent during the same period. City of Seattle, Seattle Police Department, *Annual Reports* (Seattle, 1967-1969).
[22] Crowley, *Rites of Passage*, p. 137. The governor appointed Marvin Glass to the board of trustees.

Administrators at Garfield were also working to find solutions to their problems of classroom disruptions, low attendance and low community support. The School Board had tried to move black students out of the Central District and into predominantly white schools, yet the VRT programme only created controversy and left an even greater concentration of black students attending schools within the Central District. During the 1969-70 school year, the percentage of black students attending Garfield High increased from 69 to 79 percent. In the search for answers, principal Fidler felt that the majority of black students at Garfield had 'heard it often enough from adults that school isn't going to help. They've lost faith in society and our school system'.[23] Samuel Bowles has argued that the indifference to educational opportunities amongst young black Americans during the late 1960s was largely due to the diverging set of rewards associated with academic achievement.[24] As Bowles noted, black students who dropped out of high school may have been acting in an economically rational manner since for them, as was not true for whites, the income lost by remaining in school would not necessarily be made up later.[25] After such a year, it was perhaps not surprising that 26 classroom teachers left at the end of the 1969 school year.[26] Among them was John Boitano, mathematics teacher and head coach for the football and baseball teams, who 'quit' after 18 years of teaching at Garfield

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[23] John de Yonge, 'Fidler on the Roof, Garfield Principal Keeps Hope Alive', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 25, 1969.

[24] Samuel Bowles, 'Towards Equality of Educational Opportunity', *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1968), p. 96.

[25] As Bowles demonstrated, discrimination in the labour market increased with each year of education. For example, 'the estimated lifetime earning of non-white males with eight grades of education is 64 percent of that for whites with a similar level of schooling, the analogous fraction for those with twelve years of schooling is 60 percent. *Ibid.* According to Timothy Smith, the Depression era proverb, 'last hired and the first to be fired,' has continued to affect African Americans, undermining the community's traditional faith in public schooling for personal advancement. Timothy L. Smith, 'Native Blacks and Foreign Whites: Varying Responses to Educational Opportunity in America, 1880-1950', in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., *Perspectives in American History, Vol. VI* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 332-334.

[26] This figure represents 44 percent of the total number of classroom teachers working at Garfield during the 1969-70 school year.

in June 1969. As Boitano stated, 'The reason I'm leaving is the educational part. They've torn down a real good school - most of the kids don't want an education'. Boitano further pointed out that in his Construction Mathematics class of 24 students, daily attendance was usually between 7 and 8. He added, 'There was a day that only one showed up. There were only seven present for Thursday's final examination'. Boitano's son also left Garfield and transferred to Ingraham High School in north Seattle, a decision the veteran teacher made in order to enrol 'him in a school where he could get an education'.[27]

In the face of student violence and widespread disengagement from high school study, the Seattle School Board decided to take a bold new approach by implementing a number of student-centred programmes that were designed to open up more alternative routes to high school graduation. The first visible sign of change was the appointment of three African American men to serve as principals of the Central Area secondary schools. By hiring qualified African Americans, the School Board hoped to once again receive the much-needed support of the black community. In addition to Howard White, a new assistant principal and administrative assistant were hired to work at Garfield High.[28]

The new administration's first priority was to review the philosophical guidelines that governed the Central Area schools. In September of 1970, the Board presented nine revised goals for public education.[29] The Board concluded that 'At the present time most

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[27] Paul Rossi, 'Boitano Quits, Hits Dropouts', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 7, 1969.
[28] Seattle School District, Garfield High School Directory (Seattle, 1969-70).
[29] The goals of public education were, 1. To help each student learn in an individualised approach. 2. To help each student develop a spirit of enquiry, an attitude for investigation, a sense of responsibility, and an initiative toward quest for meaning and understanding. 3. To help each student appreciate and seek quality and integrity in his own work and in his environment. 4. To help each student develop a desirable self-concept. Each student should know that he has a unique value as an individual. 5. To bring each student . . . into confrontation with life and its manifestations. 6. To help each student concerned with career development or with ultimate employment understand the various career areas and opportunities. 7. To provide teachers and other staff persons with encouragement and opportunity to develop their full potential.

of the offerings of Seattle Public Schools are geared for the college preparatory student', a situation which 'simply must change'.[30] The curriculum had to be made 'more practical and meaningful for those who will not attend college'.[31] Equally, since in conference with student groups, it transpired that many students were unwilling to tolerate 'old fashioned' teaching methods, the school district concluded, 'dropouts leave teachers, not schools'.[32] As a partial remedy, the district presented three suggestions for more effective teaching: 'to provide less idealistic and more practical supervision for cadet teachers; to provide much more assistance for the beginning teacher; and better utilize the talents of those teachers who relate well with slow learners or problem students'.[33]

By changing the philosophical guidelines governing the public schools, educators in Seattle were responding to two state-level committee recommendations. In separate reports issued in 1969, the Urban Affairs Council on education and the non-urban sector both denounced public schools for being too academically inclined, claiming that most vocational classes were regarded as 'Mickey Mouse' study. The 'heavy' emphasis on academic subjects and the inadequate vocational programmes were cited as the cause of 'hard-core unemployment in the metropolitan and rural areas'.[34] The report further evidenced that Garfield High School had a low vocational class enrolment, noting that

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8. To work with home to bring about mutual reinforcement of each for the well being of the student. 9. To provide excellent leadership and support services. Seattle School District, Administrative and Service Center, 'Guidelines for Program Development in the Seattle Public Schools' (Seattle, 1970).

[30] Seattle School District, Pupil Personnel Services, 'Examination of District Policies and Regulations Related to Student Discipline and Suspension' (Seattle, 1969).

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Seattle School District, 'Examination of District Policies and Regulations Related to Student Discipline and Suspension' (Seattle, 1969).

minority groups tended to avoid occupational classes 'because they fear these will lead them into menial jobs'.[35]

By 1970, the dropout rate at Garfield High School had reached its highest point of 23 percent, whilst the absentee rate was 18 percent. The comparable dropout rate was 8.7 percent in the Seattle School District, and 13.6 percent in the State of Washington.[36] By the early 1970s, students living in the Central District were more likely to experience a higher rate of family mobility, be a member of a single parent family and live with an adult with less than a high school education.[37] Students from the Central District lived in an environment that was fraught with poverty, deprivation and crime; 64 percent of offenses committed in 1970 by African American juveniles occurred in the Central District and surrounding areas.[38] As the number of drug related arrests increased, the Seattle School Board responded by placing undercover narcotic agents in the high school.

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[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Seattle School District, 'Garfield High School Exemplary Program' (Seattle, 1971) and L.D. Zobrist, Washington Roundtable Education Study, 'Dropouts' (Seattle, 1985), p. 29.

[37] The percentage of adults with less than high school education was between 39.1 and 50 percent in the Central District. In a study completed by the Seattle School District in 1974, the rate of mobility was 35.1 percent in the Central Area, the highest rate in the city of Seattle. Academic achievement was affected by a lack of continuity in a student's educational experience. The percentage of single parent families living in the Central Area was between 20.1 and 33.5 percent, again the highest recorded rate in the city of Seattle. The district average was 14.3 percent. City of Seattle, *Census Data* (Seattle, 1970). Researchers have argued that the differences in family structure between African Americans, whites and other racial minorities, is an historical construct, dependent upon persistent structural, cultural and demographic factors. Historically, African American households were less likely to be nuclear and more likely to be headed by a woman. Researchers have concluded, however, that the different family structures among blacks 'did not cause their disadvantaged position but instead the disadvantaged socioeconomic position has produced the observed high prevalence of female-headed families and non-marital childbearing'. S. Philip Morgan, Antonio McDaniel, Andrew T. Miller, Samuel H. Preston, 'Racial Differences in Household and Family Structure at the Turn of the Century', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 98, No. 4 (January 1993), p. 824.

[38] In 1970, there were 1,593 crimes committed in the Central District, as compared to 911 in all other areas of the city of Seattle. In a study of the juvenile contacts by census tract of residence and race, young black men living in the Central District committed the majority of these crimes. According to the Seattle police reports, the number of 'Part I' crimes committed by all youths increased from 1,891 in 1957 to 6,077 in 1970. The 'Part I' category included murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, auto theft, and non-aggravated assault. A comparison of the number of juvenile contacts with the Seattle Police Department and public school enrolment between 1960-1970 shows little change, indicating an increasing number of juvenile offenders were remaining in school. City of Seattle, Seattle Police Department, *Annual Report* (Seattle, 1970).

Garfield students voiced their objection to the 'suspicion they felt it caused'.[39] Superintendent Bottomly then asked students to draw up a plan so that it was not necessary to have agents in the school, at which students responded, 'it's not our responsibility'.[40] Under the direction of the Garfield High School administration, the school began offering Crime Prevention Workshops in September 1972. Students living in the Central Area often faced a disruptive home life or other disorienting conditions that impaired their prospects for successful participation in, and completion of, their high school education. To assist school districts with the growing number of students who were dropouts, potential dropouts, or who had demonstrated chronic absenteeism, disruptive behaviour, underachievement, or alienation, the Washington State Legislature established the Urban, Rural, Racial, Disadvantaged Program (URRD) in 1969. The legislature also passed Compulsory Attendance Laws in 1969, which gave school districts financial support for hiring attendance related staff.[41] This resulted in expanded services at Garfield in health, attendance, social work, speech and psychological health therapy.

To determine the depth needed in special educational programmes at Garfield High, the Seattle School District conducted several studies in the early 1970s.[42] All the studies revealed an astoundingly high number of Garfield students reading well below grade level, with 75 to 85 percent of students requiring remedial reading attention, and 43 percent reading 'anywhere between 3-10 years below grade level'.[43] The most critical problem was found to be the shortage of remedial teachers, with just two on staff in 1969. To

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[39] Seattle School District, Seattle School Board Minutes, March 10, 1971.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] The Compulsory Attendance Laws required all children between the ages of 8 and 18 to attend school full-time, giving school districts the legal power to turn habitual truants over to juvenile authorities.
[42] Seattle School District, 'Dropouts and Satellite Programs in the Seattle Public Schools, 1969-1970' (Seattle, 1971); Seattle School District, 'Garfield Alternative Program', Section 2.0 (Seattle, 1969).
[43] Seattle School District, Albert J. Smith, Title VIII Auditor, Richard Fain, Title VIII Coordinator, ' Initial orientation of the activities and objectives of the schools Title VIII program' (Seattle, 1974).

improve the holding power of the high school, the Board implemented a number of satellite programmes, many of them resulting from URRD funding, which became operational beginning in 1969.[44]

In an attempt to 'naturally' desegregate the Seattle public schools, the Garfield High School Magnet programme, sponsored by the Seattle-King County Board of Realtors, was implemented in 1969. Magnet schools were part of a federal programme that began as an amendment to the desegregation assistance programme, The Emergency School Aid Act.[45] School officials hoped the magnet programme would racially redistribute the student population, create educational programmes that were responsive to the needs and interests of students, thereby improving the educational achievement level within the area high schools. Each magnet school was given one or two subject specialties that were designed to attract students from the entire district. Originally placed in predominantly black schools, the programme was later expanded to create 'mirror' magnets in white neighbourhoods.[46] The pilot programme in Seattle involved four area high schools, including Garfield High. The selection of subject emphasis was determined by each school's 'physical facilities and the potential of the staff'.[47] Garfield's specialised instructions were to be in Fine Arts and Life Sciences. The Fine Arts curriculum included

[44] A school district study in 1970 revealed that the majority of school dropouts scored above the average student on standardised tests, suggesting underachievement was not the primary reason for dropping out. As the study showed, the average IQ for a school dropout was between 101-110 points. A random sample of students from Seattle schools revealed an average IQ between 93-96 points. School dropouts were considered 'activists and protestors within the community', 56 percent had been in trouble with the law, 25 percent were involved in the juvenile court system, and ten percent were known to the various welfare agencies in the city. Seattle School District, 'Dropouts and Satellite Programs' (Seattle, 1971). In a subsequent study, the district also determined that 'young people from high income homes drop out almost as frequently and with as much regularity as do the young people from meager and even poverty-stricken homes'. Seattle School District, Administrative and Service Center, Research Office, 'Vocational Interest Survey' (Seattle, 1974).

[45] Passed by Congress in 1972, the Emergency School Aid Act provided local districts with federal money to support desegregated schools.

[46] Gary Orfield, Susan E. Eaton, and the Harvard Project on School Desegregation, *Dismantling Desegregation, The Quiet Reversal of Brown vs. Board of Education* (New York, 1996), p. 269.

[47] Seattle School District, 'Statement of Principles, Subject Emphasis Areas, Magnet School' (Seattle, 1972).

courses in music, drama, dance, sculpture, painting, and design, while the Life Sciences programme included coursework in biology, health sciences, forestry, fisheries, oceanography, radiation biology, and some areas of horticulture.

Also as a result of URRD funds, the Seattle School District developed the Garfield Alternative Program (GAP) in the fall of 1970. As a satellite programme, GAP's primary purpose was to provide a 'compensatory educational service' that emphasised individualised instruction and personal attention, especially in the basic academic skills and the development of a positive self-concept.[48] GAP operated as a racially integrated transitional school. The enrolling high school student was required to score below the 5th grade level in reading, maths or spelling. GAP linked Garfield with a number of social, community, and ministerial agencies, including the Juvenile Parole Learning Center, Seattle Urban League, Central Area Mental Health and the Langston Hughes Cultural Art Center. GAP students were able to transfer back into Garfield High School mid-year if they had maintained a 90 percent attendance record, earned an average grade of 'C' in their coursework and satisfactorily completed a minimum of one 'contact class' at the school. GAP sought to 'serve a monthly average of 100 full-time students' providing each student with a 'team' consisting of a teacher-counsellor, a head teacher, a social worker and a programme manager. A students support 'team' met as often as necessary,' whilst student-teacher conferences were conducted on a regular and systematic basis.[49]

Students enrolled in GAP had the opportunity to earn a minimum of 12 credits per year, including academic courses required for high school graduation, plus electives in art,

[48] Seattle School District, 'Garfield Alternative Program', Joseph A. Smith, Director, Section C (Seattle, 1969).
[49] *Ibid.*

sewing, business education and Afro-American history. The programme schedule for GAP broke the school day up into three blocks. The full-time GAP student was assigned to six, 40-minute classes per day. During the first period, GAP students participated in sessions which focused on assessment, reinforcement and motivational concerns. The second through fourth periods were devoted to subject blocks in academic studies, whilst the fifth and sixth periods were left free for elective coursework or a credited enrichment activity. This included job preparation courses, performing arts courses, vocational education, music courses and community classes.[50]

The Seattle School District also developed an off-campus dropout prevention programme entitled Project Interchange. Project Interchange was made available to young men from low-income families who were between the ages of 14 and 22. The purpose of the programme was to help low-achieving students and potential dropouts remain in school, earn a diploma, increase employability and secure a job.[51] The approach to education at Project Interchange provided for more individualised attention for students with problems, less suspension for minor infractions, positive rewards for small progresses, continuous progress for 'slower students' so they would not fail and have to repeat classes, involvement of 'slower and less popular students' in school activities; and

[50] The school district's desire to keep students enrolled in GAP is evident in the programme's lenient attendance policy. Should a student miss three consecutive days of class, the teacher was to contact the student's parents or guardian immediately. If no improvement was shown in the student's attendance after two phone contacts, the teacher was to submit a pink slip to the Attendance Office, which sent a warning letter to the parents or guardian. Failure to respond to the warning letter and continued absenteeism resulted in a three day home referral. To be readmitted to class, students were required to return to the school with their parents or guardian for a conference with the attendance staff. Further truancy, or an accumulation of six home referral days, resulted in school suspension.

[51] Seattle School District, Project Interchange pamphlet (Seattle, 1970).

to let 'each student know that the staff cares about them as individuals'.[52] Participating students were officially enrolled at Garfield High School but attended classes off-campus in a 'relaxed atmosphere'.[53] Students were pictured playing a game of pool on the Project Interchange pamphlet. All costs for the operation of the programme were paid for through a categorical grant from the URRD fund. The Extended Services Program (ESP) was a sister programme to Project Interchange which provided an academic and social behaviour modification programme to students in grades 7 through 12 who had dropped out or were expelled or suspended from a Seattle public school. Similar to the Project Interchange, ESP focused on individualised instruction. During the 1974-75 school year, 143 students attended ESP, most of whom resided in either the Rainier Valley or the Central District. Ethnically, the programme was 97 percent black.[54]

Project Interchange was an academic-vocational-counselling programme. As part of the academic phase, students received individualised teaching that utilised a continuous or open-ended method of progressing. In the academic subject areas, students worked independently, competing 'with only themselves'.[55] As rapidly as a student could complete the work for a given class, credit was issued and the student was immediately enrolled in another course to continue working towards the required number of credits necessary for high school graduation. As the district noted, 'in this way there is no semester rigidity, hence no failures'.[56] As one graduate stated, 'Before I came to Project Interchange . . . I had gotten behind two credits and in order to graduate I would've had to

[52] Seattle School District, 'Project Interchange: A Success Story in Dropout Prevention' (Seattle, 1981).
[52] These teaching methods were utilised in 86 percent of the classes observed at Project Interchange, 71 percent of classes at ESP. Seattle School District, Department of Planning, Research and Evaluation, 'Study of Instructional Methods Employed by URRD Dropout Programs', Report No. 75-22 (Seattle, 1975).
[53] Seattle School District, Project Interchange (Seattle, 1970).
[54] Seattle School District, 'Project Interchange: A Success Story' (Seattle, 1981). The Rainier Valley is adjacent to the Central District on the south side.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *Ibid.*

attend an extra semester past when I am supposed to. Here at Project Interchange I will most likely be able to graduate a year early'.[57] Project Interchange also gave students the opportunity for part-time employment in a sheltered work programme, before being placed in outside employment as jobs became available.[58] As for counselling, students took part in formal and informal, group and individual counselling sessions. Family meetings were held monthly, group sessions were held weekly, and the counsellor's 'door was always open' to students needing individual attention.[59] By 1974, Project Interchange enrolled an average of 225 high school students each school year.[60]

In the early 1970s, there was a determined use of state and federal funds through such projects as the Soul Academy, Garfield Alternative Program, Project Interchange, ESP and the magnet school programme, to improve school desegregation and student disengagement at Garfield High. Despite these efforts, by 1973 Garfield's student body of 1,240 had become 81 percent black, 15 percent white and four percent Asian and other minorities. Progress in the continuing struggle to engage students in academic learning

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[57]Files of the Seattle School District, 'Project Interchange: A Success Story', Letter to Dr. David Moberly, Project Manager, from Marianne Had, February 16, 1978.

[58] The Project provided a sheltered work programme at the centre and in the Cleveland Memorial Forest, a 160-acre piece of district-owned forestland located near Fall City, Washington. While engaged in work activities, students were paid the minimum wage. In the sheltered work environment, emphasis was placed on guidance, good work habits and attitudes, rather than work production.

[59] Seattle School District, Project Interchange (Seattle, 1970).

[60] Project Interchange began in 1967 enrolling 50 boys. Between 1969-72 the average enrolment was approximately 150 students each school year. The project was recognised as a separate school in 1971 when the programme was expanded to include a 'full-fledged' junior and senior high school. The success of Project Interchange is shown in school reports, students' opinions, and recognition received from community leaders. The Mayor of Seattle, Charles Royer, commended Project Interchange for its 'outstanding determination, self-reliance, and commitment to educational achievement in the face of any obstacle'. City of Seattle, Proclamation from the Office of the Mayor, Charles Royer (Seattle, 1981). In honour of Project Interchange, Mayor Royer proclaimed June 4th 'Outstanding Achievement Day' in Seattle. *Ibid.* A former Project Interchange student appreciated the individualised study programme writing, '. . . when I sat in a certain seat at a certain hour of the day, somehow that just doesn't inspire me very much to do good in school (which I do when it feel it benefits me) . . . the idea of big schools is terrible, I'd rather be an individual than a number any day'. Seattle School District, Letter to the Superintendent of Seattle Schools, Dr. David Moberly from Marianne Had, February 16, 1978.

was slow; the rates of absenteeism, tardiness and dropout remained static in the early 1970s.

In redeveloping the educational programme in the Seattle area, the School Board approved adoption of a 4-4-4 Plan for the Central Area schools. This meant a student's school career would consist of four years in elementary school, four in middle or junior high and then four in high school. Under the new plan, Garfield became a four-year institution to allow greater flexibility in individualising the high school programme. The redistribution of grades was to assist in school desegregation for, as Superintendent Bottomly stated, '. . . the reorganization, with its new . . . quality school programs, especially at Garfield, . . . will begin inducing white students from other parts of the city to enroll'.[61] As a former School Board member recalled, '. . . many felt that the quality of education had been improved by this locally controlled effort'.[62] The programme was first discussed in January 1970 and placed in operation the following September. The significance of the 4-4-4 Plan was its Middle School Desegregation Plan, adopted by the Seattle School Board in November 1970, and the first mandatory desegregation policy implemented by the Board.[63] The mandatory reassignment of students between a Central Area middle school, Meany-Madrona, and three predominantly white North Seattle schools, Hamilton, Wilson, and Eckstein, sparked intense opposition in the white community.[64] Opposition took the form of angry public meetings, the formation of the

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[61] The '4-4-4' plan was written by Central Area citizens 'to insure their children will get quality education – with or without integration'. John de Yonge, 'More Pupils at 4-4-4 Schools', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 26, 1970.

[62] Siqueland, *Without a Court Order,* p. 13.

[63] Desegregation of the Seattle public middle schools was intended to be the first phase of a three-phase effort to desegregate the city by 1973, however, 'phase two and three never took place'. *Ibid.*

[64] In March of 1968, Superintendent Bottomly had presented a plan to the school board outlining the conversion of three Seattle area junior high schools into racially balanced middle schools. Washington Junior High was to make the transition by September 1969, Meany and Hamilton to convert no later than September 1971. The issue of mandatory busing of white students was left unanswered. The plan was

group Citizens Against Mandatory Busing (CAMB)[65], an effort to recall the School Board, and a suit filed to stop the implementation of the Middle School Plan.[66] Despite continuing resistance to the middle school desegregation policy, the district moved to a 4-4-4 Plan without delay. The conversion involved the rearrangement of administrative duties in the Seattle School District, as well as the introduction of a number of innovative programmes at Garfield High, including intensified student counselling, independent study, individualised programmed learning and the unique scheduling of classes.

Under the new plan, students were required to complete 16 classes each academic year, attending eight courses each semester, four each on alternating days; also alternating between the main campus 'A' and the auxiliary campus 'B'. Campus 'A', the main old building at 23rd Avenue and East Alder Street, taught English, social studies, art, business education, boys physical education, health education and driver education. Campus 'B', the former Washington Elementary School at 2101 S. Jackson Street two miles away, taught mathematics, science, foreign language, music and dance, home economics, girls physical education, industrial arts, work experience, and the COP. Students were expected to spend an entire day at one campus or the other but, because of scheduling difficulties, on any given day, students often traveled between them, which caused truancy and skipping problems. Following a four-period class day on an alternating basis was unique

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adopted on April 10, 1968. The move 'caused a flurry of excitement which died down until the fall of 1970 when the board considered a specific plan with a date for implementation'. Pieroth, 'With All Deliberate Caution', p. 58.

[65] CAMB succeeded the group Save Our Neighborhood Schools, and was reportedly 'well-organized and well-funded'. Pieroth, 'With All Deliberate Caution', p. 61. The civil rights movement received a major setback in 1970 when Republican President Richard Nixon 'announced that the integration of schools would be left to the courts and that his administration would downgrade strong desegregation procedures'. President Nixon further secured the appointment of three new conservative Supreme Court judges; President Gerald Ford pursued the same policy of non-intervention. Field, *Civil Rights in America 1865-1980*, p. 99.

[66] Efforts to recall the board members failed, the lawsuit was won by the school district in a unanimous Washington State Supreme Court decision on April 6, 1972, and the middle school desegregation programme was implemented in the fall of 1972.

to Garfield: most high schools in the district followed a six-period, five-day a week schedule. The additional class time, produced by increasing the length of periods from fifty to seventy-five minutes, was designed to facilitate the individualised study programme. Students were now 'expected' to attend classes in 'both buildings,' regardless of their future plans.[67] While one student noted that the new schedule made the 'day go faster with only four classes', another thought it 'split up the school'.[68] When asked to respond to the scheduling and curriculum changes at Garfield, students were forthright in their answers. Questioned, 'Are you learning anything?,' one Garfield student stated, 'Sure I am! I mean, with eight classes, who could doubt it? In Health we engage in deep philosophical discussions as to whether or not marijuana and hashish actually are the same thing'.[69] Following the change to a two-campus system, over a two-week period, students spent approximately 6 ¼ hours in each class, down from 8 ¼ hours, raising concern over whether students were spending enough time in the classroom to learn their subjects adequately.[70]

Following the 4-4-4 Plan conversion, the vocational and elective programmes at Garfield were broadened to provide students with 'ample opportunities' for the exploration of individual talents and capabilities. A change in the graduation requirements reflects this new emphasis. Prior to 1969, students were required to complete 51 percent of their coursework in academic subjects, 18 percent in vocational, physical education and home economics, and 31 percent in elective study.[71] Beginning in 1970, students were required

[67] Seattle School District, The Purpose of High School, Garfield Planning Guide (Seattle, 1970).
[68] *Garfield Messenger*, November 1970.
[69] *Garfield Messenger*, April 1972.
[70] The time devoted to class study was lowered further by assemblies, teacher's meetings, or interrupted by a countless number of false fire alarms and hallway disturbances each day. *Ibid.*
[71] Prior to 1969, students were required to complete five credits in language arts, four credits in social studies, two credits in mathematics, two credits in science, two credits in home economics, one credit in

to complete 31 percent of their coursework in academic subjects, 19 percent in vocational/physical education/home economics, and fully 50 percent in elective coursework.[72] To accommodate the open elective system, for example, the number of industrial arts classes offered at Garfield increased from 33 in 1969 to 56 by 1975.[73] The number of academic classes at Garfield dropped from 35 percent of the total course offerings in 1960 to 27 percent in 1971. Despite the expanded curriculum, the number of students who took advantage of the wider variety of classes was, however, 'regrettably low'.[74] In a review of Garfield High School's semester schedule for the early 1970s, it is apparent very few students chose elective coursework, particularly in the academic subject areas. During the 1972-73 school year, Traffic Education, Karate, Wood Shop I through IV, and Metal Shop I through IV were the only classes filled over capacity at Garfield.[75] Staff assignments also reflect the change in programme emphasis. In 1967, 59 percent of the teaching staff at Garfield had specialised in academic subjects, but by 1972 the percentage had dropped to 45.[76] Despite offering the 'best curricula and best methodology,' the district was aware that some students would still be unable to achieve or behave acceptably.[77]

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health, 1.5 credits in physical education, and eight credits in elective study. The mathematics and science requirements could be met partially or wholly in junior high school.

[72] Beginning in 1970, students were required to complete five credits in language arts, four credits in social studies, two credits in mathematics, two credits in science, two credits in occupational preparation, one credit in health education, five credits in physical education, and 21 credits in elective study. The occupational preparation credits could be fulfilled through coursework in home economics, business education, industrial arts or the COP.

[73] Classes in business education rose from 27 in 1969 to 31 in 1975; art increased from 11 to 14, music increased from 12 to 31, home economics increased from 18 to 23, and physical education increased from seven to 23 in 1975. There was a corresponding decrease in the academic subjects areas. The greatest was in the Social Studies Department, which offered 19 classes in 1969, and only five in 1975.

[74] *Garfield Messenger*, January 1971.

[75] Seattle School District, Garfield High School Enrolment Sheet 1972-1973 (Seattle, 1973), and Seattle School District, Memorandum, Roscoe Bass to Mr. Reasby, Seattle Public Schools Planning and Research Department, January 18, 1972.

[76] In 1966-67, there were 48 staff at Garfield teaching academic subjects. By 1972, this figure had decreased to 33.

[77] Seattle School District, 'Examination of District Policies' (Seattle, 1969).

Initiated at Garfield Campus 'B' in the fall of 1970, the Career Opportunity Program (COP) was designed to enhance the development of occupational skills. Career education was the name given to the Nixon administration's major educational policy under Commissioner Sidney P. Marland (who held office 1970-73), which gave a new emphasis to the vocational streams in high school, then attracting only some ten percent of the high school class. Career education was seen as a way of meeting the problem of youth discontent, providing a direct path to jobs and letting work end alienation. As part of the Garfield Exemplary Program, federal funds came from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.[78] Additional funding was received from the Seattle Model City Program. The COP at Garfield High provided for career education 'as a regular part of a comprehensive school curriculum,' as well as the establishment of an on-campus student job placement centre.[79] The goal was to enrol one-fourth of the student body (250 students), a goal that was surpassed during the spring 1971 semester when the enrolment totalled 317 students.[80] Intended for juniors and seniors, the COP courses therefore reached a very significant proportion of the school's graduates.[81]

Garfield was thus able to begin assuming the role of the community college with courses 'designed to teach them marketable skills' available to students, including barbering, food services, fashion construction, nurses aide, dry cleaning, cosmetician, auto

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[78] The term 'exemplary' was a euphemism used to refer to a special education programme available at Garfield High beginning in 1970. In the first year of the national programme $9 million was made available to the states, but this figure had shot up to $100 million by the end of the second year. Ira Schor, *Culture Wars: School and Society in the Conservative Restoration 1969-1984* (London, 1986), p. 40. Schor provides a clear but simplistic account of the ideological dimension. For a more nuanced discussion, see Joel Spring, *Educating the Worker-Citizen, The Social, Economic, and Political Foundations of Education* (New York, 1980), pp. 152-156.

[79] Seattle School District, 'Garfield High School Exemplary Program' (Seattle, 1971).

[80] Thirty-nine percent of these students were enrolled in the Auto Technology course.

[81] Seattle School District, Memorandum, Judy Hanson to Hal Reasby, 'Preliminary Statements about the Garfield schedule', (Seattle, 1973). In cooperation with the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and the COP, the school hosted Career Fair's on a periodic basis under the banner 'Learning to Earn'.

mechanics, construction technology, carpentry, draftsmanship, electrical and sheet metal work.[82] These were received with some scepticism. As one student noted, 'I stand by the strong conviction that future Garfield alumni will become famous and have exciting occupations as drycleaners, service station attendants, janitorial experts, longshoremen, garbage collectors, and possibly even hospital orderlies!'[83] In a follow-up survey, a graduate of Garfield stated, 'Why not first help a child find himself as a human being, and then once he has - worry about helping him find a career'.[84]

Following the development of the Career Opportunity Program, the administration expanded the work-credit programme at Garfield. Until the late 1960s, students in the work-experience programme had found their own employment.[85] Now, a job placement centre, which was run essentially like an employment office with a staff of five, was established in the fall of 1970.[86] Students earned one credit for 200 hours of work in a semester, a half-credit for less than 200 hours. Seniors were able to earn up to two credits for 400 hours of work-experience. Employer evaluations were used to determine the school grade. In the early 1970s, applications ran in excess of 300 each semester though the office was only able to place approximately 215 students. Despite early successes, there were increasing difficulties in placing students in positions that were educationally

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[82] 'Garfield Students to Learn Marketable Skills', *The Seattle Times*, August 23, 1970. The expanded curriculum was designed to 'provide the students with a relationship between the world of work and the world of school'. The project was the result of a joint effort between the Central Area business community and the Seattle School District. The Central Region Administration expressed hope that COP students would eventually operate 'their own restaurant and service station' as part of the school programme. *Ibid.* Beginning in 1973, the second page of the *Garfield Messenger* was devoted to an advertisement for the Navy Recruiting Office.

[83] *Garfield Messenger*, 'My Alma Mater Dear', April 1972.

[84] Seattle School District, Research Office, 'After Graduation What? Seattle Public Schools Look at their Graduates of 1967 Two Years Later' (Seattle, 1969).

[85] Students in the programme were employed in a wide range of jobs including 'apple processing, bedspring maker, usherette, and horse care'. John Haigh, 'Work-Experience Program For Students', *The Seattle Times*, May 18, 1969.

[86] The Work Experience Coordinator contacted prospective employers throughout the Seattle area, and vacancies were filled as they became available.

advantageous, vocational or otherwise. Administrators also found that students involved in the work experience project exhibited a high rate of absenteeism 'at school more than on the job'. Nor was there any sign that employers were providing 'mini-training' opportunities to unskilled students, or evaluating their performance.[87] Except in extraordinary circumstances, students always received an 'A' on their report. Administrators believed the off-campus site and relaxed open door policy contributed to the difficulties experienced by the project personnel. Ultimately, keeping track of a student's regular class schedule and job responsibilities proved an insurmountable task for the work experience programme. To keep the programme afloat during the recession years, students were placed in 'anything they could get', and by the 1974 school year, there were just 41 students enrolled in the work experience programme, with only eight classified as 'Enrolled and employed'.[88]

A further key component of the 4-4-4 Plan was the introduction of individualised study. A 1971 School Board study noted, 'In a nation such as ours, different points of view are a necessity. This is the only climate in which a democracy can survive'.[89] Students must therefore be encouraged to question and criticise, to argue their points of view, to make choices and take responsibility for those choices. To meet these objectives, schools were to replace the group-oriented, teacher-paced, lockstep curriculum with an individualised approach to instruction geared to the needs, interests and capacities of the individual student. This new approach introduced self-directed, self-administered learning

[87] Seattle School District, Albert J. Smith, Jr., Principal Investigator, 'Education Program Audit Report, ESEA, Title VIII, Central Area Dropout Reduction Experiment', Final Audit Report (Seattle, 1974). In comparison to those students who did not take part in the COP, participating students were found to have a higher rate of absenteeism in their regular classes at Garfield.
[88] *Ibid.* The breakdown was as follows: four students were 'Enlisted but transferred', 13 students 'Enlisted but never attended', six students 'Enlisted and dropped', eight students were 'Enrolled and employed', seven were 'Enrolled and not employed' and three were simply 'Enlisted'. *Ibid.*
[89] Seattle School District, Elmo Little and Phillip Sorensen, Planning and Evaluation, 'The Need for Individualized Instruction' (Seattle, 1971).

to be scheduled 'within broad time constraints convenient to the learner'.[90] Charles Silberman's much-publicised book, *Crisis in the Classroom*, had argued in favour of individualised study so that schools would produce people who were 'creative, inventive and discoverers,' who had 'minds which can be critical, can verify, and not accept everything they are offered'.[91]

Another motive for the plan was to keep pace with the 'information explosion' that had 'blasted for all time the notion that we can feed all students the same diet. Instead, we have to adopt a cafeteria principle in which we help each student select what he most needs to fulfill his potentialities'.[92] This call for individualised study was underscored by the U.S. Office of Education's report showing that 77.1 percent of all 18 year olds were graduating from high school in 1969. This meant that schools now had to find new ways of accommodating an increasingly diverse student population. The Program for Learning in Accordance with Needs (PLAN) had been introduced in the Seattle schools in 1969, with the intention of course 'objectives, content, rate, and instructional materials' being tailored to accommodate the individual student. But with a student-counsellor ratio of approximately 462:1 in 1969, it proved impossible to determine the individual needs of each student at Garfield. By 1974, auditors deemed the counselling component of the PLAN project at Garfield High School to be 'in serious trouble'.[93] There was no higher education counsellor, career information counsellor or psychiatric consultant at the school.[94] Another aspect of the programme was the Family Plan (also introduced in 1969)

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[90] *Ibid.*
[91] Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom*, pp. 218-219.
[92] Seattle School District, 'The Need for Individualized Instruction', p. 10.
[93] Seattle School District, 'Central Area Dropout Reduction Experiment' (Seattle, 1974).
[94] *Ibid.*

whereby each student was assigned to a 'house' with its special counsellors.[95] Students in difficulty could turn to their 'family' for guidance. As Garfield principal Howard White stated, 'The whole idea is built upon trust and respect'.[96] Yet, students were often left to track themselves. While student reaction to the individualised instruction plan was 'extremely positive', even 'too good to be true', in 1971 the school administration found that 'less than five percent' of the students had tried to take advantage of the 'fact that they have more freedom' under the new plan.[97] The individualised study plan received support from teachers who felt 'they were working harder than ever . . . but they were more satisfied'.[98]

To facilitate individual study, the total number of courses offered at Garfield High increased to 264, and the greater flexibility in the high school programme allowed students to make as many as 64 attempts to earn 56 credits.[99] However, the danger of this flexibility was that it could undermine systematic study and the academic standards of high school graduation and, as the school district warned, 'Completion of the course requirement for high school graduation does not necessarily mean that you are ready for college admission. It is your responsibility to find out what the high school requirements are for the college that you hope to attend . . .'.[100]

Allowing students to decide their own elective class schedule also presented the school with further challenges. For example, the course in Nurses Aide, taught at Garfield 'B' in

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[95] 'Major Changes Will Greet Students at Three Schools', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 1, 1968.
[96] *Ibid.*
[97] Seattle School District, 'The Need for Individualized Instruction', p. 22.
[98] *Ibid.* Garfield teachers were also 'greatly pleased with the renewed interest taken by the students in academic activities and in school in general'. *Ibid.*
[99] Seattle School District, Requirements for the Class of 1973 at Garfield High School (Seattle, 1973). In comparison, Garfield had offered 155 classes in 1956 and 183 in 1960.
[100] *Ibid.*

the morning from 8:00 am to 9:30 am on 'A' day only, was a class aimed at 11th and 12th graders (17 and 18 year olds). Yet, most of the class were in the ninth grade (14 and 15 year olds), even though it was designed to prepare upper division students who would end their formal education at high school graduation. Regularly, teachers had to teach classes with students from every grade.

To help the underachieving student and those with severe problems with absence or truancy, a variety of further projects were undertaken at Garfield. Beginning in the early 1970s, Garfield began offering a series of remedial and fundamental classes. In the Language Arts Department, the course list included: Basic Reading Skills, Individualised Reading, Developmental Reading, Functional English, Efficiency Reading and Vocational English. In the Mathematics Department the list included: Calculator Math, Math for Pleasure, Career Math, Math for Daily Use, Basic Math Skills, General Math I & II, Minimum Competency Math, Trades and Industrial Math. School officials had opened Reading and Mathematics Laboratories in 1969 to serve as remedial centres, set up to diagnose problems and provide tutorial assistance once 'the prescription' was written.[101] The goal of the reading and mathematics labs was to raise a student's level by one or more grade equivalents within the school year. The expanded curriculum and the development of the remedial centres also provoked some physical remodelling at Garfield in the early 1970s. A new Learning Resource Center was built in 1970 on the third floor, with a comfortable, home-like, 'flexible' floor plan to serve upwards of 117 students.[102] Reference materials, books, magazines and newspapers were provided for student use.

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[101] Seattle School District, 'Falling Through The Cracks: A Study of Dropouts in the Seattle Public Schools', Seattle Youth Investment School Study, Seattle King County Economic Development Council, Mary Beth Celio, Northwest Decision Resources (Seattle, 1989). To foster individual attention, the Mathematics Laboratory was limited to 5-10 students per class period.

[102] In the 1975 school yearbook, the Resource Center is pictured with a sign on the door that read, 'The Way to Fun-damentals'. Garfield High School, *Arrow Yearbook*, 1975.

Then, in 1970, the Seattle School District also built a new gymnasium in the grounds, and in conjunction with the Seattle City Parks Department, the district constructed the Medgar Evers Swimming Pool just north of the school.[103] Students attended swimming and water-safety classes until the courses were cancelled in 1971 when the park board demanded a daily rental fee of $75.00 for the use of the Memorial Pool. The district also remodelled the high school cafeteria and kitchens, as well as the music facilities in 1970.[104] Beginning in the 1970s, breakfast was available every morning from 7:15 am until the first period bell rang at 7:50 am. Free or reduced price meals were available based on a student's family income and expenses.[105] An onsite daycare centre was available for the children of Garfield students.[106]

All of these initiatives contributed to a modest improvement in Garfield's dropout and suspension rates in the early 1970s, but the Seattle School Board remained concerned with maintaining student attendance until graduation.[107] To draw student interest, the reformed curriculum addressed topics that were relevant to current social concerns. Courses such as Contemporary Problems, Behavioural Sciences, Minorities in America and Afro-American Heritage were added to the social studies curriculum.[108] The Home Economics

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[103] Evers' widow, Mrs. Myrlie Evers, was present for the formal dedication on April 18, 1970. The cost of the project was $1,074,000.

[104] Students filed grievances with the school district telling of 'rats and cockroaches' in the lunchroom and of food so undercooked it was inedible. Prior to the remodel, school lunches were cooked at another school and delivered by truck to Garfield.

[105] The Seattle Black Panthers also provided a free breakfast programme for impoverished children in the Central District. The group also established a free medical clinic, prison visitation programme, a statewide sickle-cell anemia testing programme and tutoring programmes. Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community*, p. 221.

[106] The Daycare Center was open from 7:45 am until 3:30 pm, and staffed by a nurse, a social worker and two childcare workers. The programme was based on helping young mothers find jobs in the summer as well as 'plan for other children'. In 1971, there were 15 children in the Daycare Center at Garfield. The 1973 school yearbook pictured a young mother seated on a classroom desk holding a toddler. Garfield High School, *The Golden Arrow Yearbook*, 1973.

[107] By 1972, the dropout rate had been lowered to 8.6 percent and the absentee rate was down to 12.7 percent. Seattle School District, 'Falling Through the Cracks' (Seattle, 1989).

[108] Contemporary Problems was required for graduation beginning in 1970.

Department offered such classes as Meal Management, Family Finance, Personal/Family Relationships, Child Care and Development, Housing and Home Furnishing, Bachelor Homemaking and Sewing for Profit. Amongst others, Black Literature and Protest Literature were introduced into the Language Arts curriculum. Along with the open elective system and the individualised instruction plan, the district implemented a number of other approaches to learning, particularly field trips, audio-visual aides and teaching by television. A list of approved field trips in 1971 included: tours of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the Boeing Field International Airport, the Pike Place Market, the Seattle Public Library, the Seattle Times, and the Museum of History and Industry. Fieldtrips and films were utilised in all subject areas including physical education, mathematics and the language arts.[109] To no one's surprise, the new Film Art class enrolment average was 70 students who watched a 30 to 60-minute film each class and then submitted written comments for grading. In the spring 1971 semester, students in the Language Arts 11A class watched such films as, *Fatal Glass of Beer*, *American on Everest, The Outer Limits*, and *High Noon*.[110] The School Board's interest in automated education was broadened to include the use of teaching machines for mathematics and foreign language classes at Garfield in 1969.

The criteria for evaluating textual materials changed in the early 1970s as board members took into greater consideration both the individualised study plan and the needs of the 'non-average' reader,[111] and the race and sex bias that was found in most traditional

[109] Teachers were given guidelines for field study trips including 'simple looking walks, simple listening walks', and walks that gave students the opportunity to take note of various kinds of housing, stores, transportation, services, gardens, parks, beaches, highways, bridges and construction. Seattle School District, Department of Instructional Materials and Media, The Field Trip Guide K-12, 1970-1971 (Seattle, 1971).
[110] *Garfield Messenger*, May 1971.
[111] In review of the Instructional Materials Committee files, a text that was low on the readability scale was consistently chosen over more challenging material. When evaluating *Success with Mathematics*, the

textbooks.[112] To the latter there were imaginative responses when in 1969, for example, students at Garfield protested against the use of *History of a Free People* as the official 11th grade social studies text stating, 'It's no good. It was made for white students. It's no wonder black kids are skipping classes if they have to read it'.[113] Concurring with students, teachers in the Social Studies Department began using historical texts such as the autobiography of Frederick Douglass, B.A. Botkin's collection of first hand accounts of slavery, *Lay My Burden Down,* and Langston Hughes' history of the NAACP, *Fight for Freedom.*[114] Again, a social studies Humanities course utilised *Family of Man,* art prints, slide and photographs, cameras and film, copies of popular magazines and records (jazz, rock, soul, folk, classical) in the classroom curriculum.[115] Both the Black Literature and American Literature classes listened to 'records of American black poets and authors'.[116] Magazines were also utilised heavily in the Language Arts curriculum. In the required tenth grade English class, students were asked to read a *Sports Illustrated* article that

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Committee felt the text was better suited to grade eight, although the intended course was open to high school students at all grade levels. The text was chosen because it was 'less difficult', and would 'better serve some classes or students'. Seattle School District, Instructional Materials Committee Textual Materials Adoptions (Seattle, 1975).

[112] Following the passage of House Bill 675 in 1969, school districts were required to appoint an Instructional Materials Committee to review and approve all instructional supplies used in the public schools. The general criteria for evaluating textual materials included: general appearance, practicality of size and color for classroom use, readability of type, durability and flexibility of binding, appeal of page layouts, usability of index, etc. The first reference to content appeared 12th on the list as, 'usefulness in stimulating critical thinking'. Seattle School District, Instructional Materials Committee Textual Materials Adoptions (Seattle, 1975). All texts were also reviewed by a Sex Bias Screening Committee, which was comprised of a group of teachers. The criteria for identifying sex bias included such questions as, 'does content focus as often on females as on males?, are males and females shown in non-stereotypical activities or portrayed in roles other than traditional ones?. The committee was also asked to count the pictures of females and males in a text to ensure 'females were half of the total'. Seattle School District, Criteria for Identifying Sex Bias in Instructional Materials (Seattle, 1976). The Sex Bias Committee selected the film 'Miss/Mrs. and Mr., What's it all About', for use the in Home Economics department, because the film contained 'role reversals', a 'female president and firewoman'. Seattle School District, Sex Bias Screening Committee Evaluation (Seattle, 1978).

[113] John de Yonge, 'History Book Protested By Black Student', *Seattle Post-Intelligencer,* March 24, 1969. Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel P. McCutchen, *History of a Free People* (New York, 1960).

[114] Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York, 1969); Benjamin A. Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago, 1945); James Langston Hughes, *Fight for Freedom: The History of the NAACP* (New York, 1962).

[115] Edward Steichen, *Family of Man: The Greatest Photographic Exhibition of all Time* (New York, 1955).

[116] Seattle School District, Instructional Materials Committee Textual Materials Adoptions (Seattle, 1975).

announced the retirement of basketball star, Bill Russell. Students were given a sentence from the article such as 'Basketball is the most demanding sport we've invented,' and then asked to follow up by writing a paragraph containing at least four sentences. Language Arts 9A and 9B were strictly skills classes, in which the students were not required to read any literature. In the upper division Language Arts classes, the use of anthologies increased, students were often assigned to read a chapter or an essay and present an outline for grading.[117] In several Language Arts classes at Garfield, students were given the freedom to read current books that were of interest to them, and then submit a book report for grading, rather than to work their way through the required class text. Students were not permitted to take books home because 'they were not returned'.[118]

In trying to create a school that administered to the unmotivated student, administrators at Garfield blurred the line between 'academic' and 'extra curricular' by reclassifying activities such as the Camera Club, the Marching Band and Stage Band as academic subjects. Beginning in 1971, the School Board widened the use of the pass-fail option to all Seattle area high school students, though they were warned that colleges might not accept non-graded marks (for most agreed the option should be limited to non-required courses). When asked to explain the rationale of the pass-fail option, the School Board noted that, 'students preferred a P grade to D or even C'.[119] Furthermore, the option would

[117] For example, students in Language Arts 10A were assigned Daniel Defoe's short essay, 'The Education of Women' in Vol. 27 of the *Harvard Classics* (New York, 1910).
[118] *Garfield Messenger*, April 1971. Students voiced their opposition to the restriction feeling, 'education is a two-way street, the students and the school should support each other'. *Ibid.*
[119] To earn a 'P' or passing grade, students were required to produce 'D' work. Seattle School District, Administrative and Service Center, 'Summary of Pass-Fail Questionaire, Senior High' (Seattle, 1971). As one board member further noted, 'The current grading system (A-E) is educationally unsound. The pass-fail method is less unsound and is a step toward performance grading'. Seattle School District, 'Garfield High School, Guidelines for Pass No Credit Option', Section 12.0 (Seattle, 1972). In the 1971 survey, the pass-fail option was in limited use in the school district's southern region, with just five to ten percent of students utilising the option. In contrast, at Cleveland High School, located in the city's central region, 942 students

not penalise the student 'who wishes to just be a group member' and, finally, the pass-fail grading system 'provided an opportunity for students to gain a broader education without the threat to a student's GPA'.[120] To quiet the critics and, apparently without irony, the school district also noted that the pass-fail option allowed 'the academically oriented student to take courses such as Typing, Woodshop or Metal Shop, in which he may not be gifted, without lowering his grade point average'.[121]

Flexible class scheduling, modules, the non-graded or continuous progress system of instruction, the proliferation of electives, and relevance in the curriculum all contributed to the impression that high school by the early 1970s, had become a 'cross between a summer camp and a social welfare agency'.[122] Establishing personal contact with alienated students did manage to trim Garfield's dropout rate to 5.5 percent, and further lowered the absentee rate to 12.7 percent during the 1972-73 school year. However, the drive to make high school 'fun', and thereby engage the unmotivated student, prompted one Garfieldite to write,

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or approximately 60 percent of the student body were taking a pass-fail grade. The school district did not publish the figures for Garfield High.

[120] Further justification for expanding the pass-fail option was given by the School Board, noting, 'Under the new trimester system the number of elective courses available to students has been greatly increased. It is possible to earn a considerable number of credits beyond the number required for graduation. We felt that students would be more inclined to pursue additional elective credits if they had the option to take these additional courses on a pass-fail basis'. Seattle School District, 'Garfield High School, Guidelines for Pass No Credit Option', Section 12.0 (Seattle, 1972).

[121] *Ibid.*

[122] David Brewster, 'Shall Franklin High Overcome?', *Seattle Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 72, (March 1970), p. 16. Although this comment was specifically referring to Franklin High School, Brewster's article discusses Garfield High School and the many similarities between the schools. Franklin High School is located in the Rainier Valley just south of the Central District. Franklin and Garfield High had a great deal in common, including a rising black population and a growing number of students from impoverished homes. As reported by Brewster, Franklin was also beset with student apathy and school violence. The city's growing black community expanded to the south of the Central District, and the percentage of black students at Franklin increased from 46.5 in 1970 to 78.1 in 1977. After leaving Garfield in 1967, Frank Hanawalt became the principal of Franklin High in 1968.

I often find myself thinking
of mausoleums and schools
How many minds
Have died here?[123]

In 1972 some students at Garfield felt attending school was simply a 'twelve year social event' while a photograph actually published in the 1975 school yearbook showed students playing cards in class.[124] As one student recalled, 'the teacher sometimes gets the classes attention for a couple of minutes, and she challenges our eager minds with a word or two in French, which completely throws us, and then we go back to our English conversations [sic]'.[125] After sitting in on several dozen classes at neighbouring Franklin High School, a reporter for the *Seattle Magazine* noted 'there does seem to be a monotonous sameness about many of them'.[126] During most classes students and teachers engaged in unstructured conversations that came to no conclusion, whilst the students' greatest challenge was to 'avoid another homework assignment'.[127]

In the early 1970s, students were demanding a greater voice in the educational decision-making process. From college campuses to area high schools, student activists began to exercise their constitutional rights by organising walkouts and peace rallies against the Vietnam War. The rights of children were also beginning to secure greater emphasis with the passage of new child abuse laws in 1968 and the consequent multiplication of child protective services.[128] The Seattle School Board began to adopt the

[123] Garfield High School, *Garfield Pen*, 1971.
[124] *Garfield Messenger*, 'My Alma Mater Dear', April 1972.
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] Brewster, 'Shall Franklin High Overcome?', p. 18.
[127] *Ibid.*
[128] The rights revolution in the United States included passage of the Vocation Rehabilitation Act (1973), which provided Federal funds to help eliminate discrimination against disabled Americans. The right of abortion was granted to women during the same year as a result of *Roe v. Wade,* a landmark victory for the women's liberation movement.

language of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which had been arguing since the mid-1960s that, ' . . . opportunities for free speech and assembly should be accorded our students as early as is practicable. Only by practicing some of the rights of citizens, can they grow to the political and social maturity consonant with a democracy'.[129] Under the ACLU guidelines, students were to be given rights analogous to those of adult citizens. To accommodate this freedom of expression and communication, students at Garfield were allowed to organise school assemblies (until they were cancelled altogether during the mid-1970s due to a lack of student interest). Student attendance at all assemblies was made voluntary, and if not attending an assembly, they were free to wander the school grounds or leave the campus altogether.[130]

In the early 1970s, School Board policy further gave students control of the school Public Address System, which was to serve as a 'learning device'.[131] Students were responsible for producing the daily information and announcements bulletin, which was read over the public address system during second period class. In addition to the morning bulletin, students were given access to the p.a. system throughout the school day. School officials thereby allowed the classroom to be disrupted at the discretion of students. Important administrative decisions were also given over to Garfield students for a vote. In March 1971, the student senate presented a petition to the administration requesting a one-hour lunch period. A school advisory committee approved the student proposal on the condition that all 'planning, scheduling and technicalities be worked out by the students' themselves, without interference from any administrative factions'.[132] Despite receiving approval, the one-hour lunch period was not set up due to a lack of

[129] American Civil Liberties Union, *Academic Freedom in the Secondary Schools* (Wyoming, 1965), p. 5.
[130] *Garfield Messenger*, February 1971.
[131] ACLU, *Academic Freedom*, pp. 12-13.
[132] *Garfield Messenger*, March 1971.

organisation by the student body.[133] Beginning in the early 1970s, students were no longer required to carry a hall pass stating their reason for being out of class. This leniency resulted in students wandering the halls and disrupting classes for unrelated minor matters. If not in class or study hall, students could spend their free time in the student lounge, entertaining themselves with Ping-Pong tables, a television set, a record player and magazines.[134]

The Seattle School District was required by law to provide students and parents with a clear statement of student rights and responsibilities. The school handbook designated a smoking area on the high school grounds, permitted students to leave campus during the lunch period, and further deemed locker searches as unconstitutional because they invaded a student's right to privacy. Since 'dress and personal adornment' were regarded as 'forms of self-expression', apart from a prohibition of bare feet, dress regulations were virtually non-existent.[135] As the Board policy stated, 'The First and Fourteenth Amendments prohibit states from unduly infringing upon the rights of speech and expression. In the school setting this restriction on state action limits the manner and extent to which schools may limit the speech and expression of students'.[136] Under the new code of conduct, teachers were to expel a student from class only when the disruptive behaviour 'substantially' interfered with the educational process.[137] Disruptive conduct was defined as 'willful disobedience toward a teacher or other staff, destruction of school property,

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[133] Teachers and administrators served on the advisory committee. Only five percent of the student body turned out for the final vote. Garfield's schedule was modified to accommodate a 25-minute activity period for class organisations, activity and club meetings. After-school activities were thus made part of the regular school day. *Garfield Messenger*, September 1973.
[134] *Garfield Messenger*, March 1971.
[135] ACLU, *Academic Freedom*, p. 19.
[136] Seattle School District, Seattle School Board Policy (Seattle, 1972).
[137] *Ibid.*

habitual use of vulgarity, profanity or obscenity, and physical assault'.[138] Illegal items such as firearms and weapons were to be 'temporarily' removed from a student's possession.[139] Absences for illness, death in the family, *appearance in court*, approved and scheduled field trips, or for unusual circumstances were considered excused.[140]

The keyword of all disciplinary action at Garfield was 'fairness'.[141] The policy stated, 'If you believe your rights as a student have been violated in any way or by any person (including faculty, administration or other staff), you may file a grievance'.[142] In order to assure protection and due process of the law, students were given the opportunity to either contest the disciplinary action taken against them, or the appropriateness of the sanction imposed by school authorities.[143] Students had the right to demand a formal hearing, and confront and question witnesses in front of the Board of Directors.[144] The new legal rights conferred on children and teenagers eroded adult authority. The school's discipline policies placed teachers on the defensive by having to prove a student infraction.[145] Under the new child abuse statutes, children were encouraged to sue or bring charges against

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[138] *Ibid.*
[139] *Ibid.*
[140] Seattle School District, Garfield High School Handbook (Seattle, 1980).
[141] *Ibid.*
[142] *Ibid.*
[143] John de Yonge, 'School Officials Working on Code of Conduct to Protect Student Rights', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 18, 1970.
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] Teacher autonomy was further undermined by the Supreme Court's 1975 *Goss v. Lopez* decision. In this case the Supreme Court established minimum due process rights for public school students. The case held that even in conditions of a temporary suspension (ten days or less), students had a right to an oral or written notice of charges, an explanation of the evidence against them and an opportunity to rebut the charges. The *Goss* ruling gave students a legitimate claim for entitlement to a public education 'as a property interest which is protected by the Due Process Clause'. Researchers have argued the *Goss* ruling would inhibit 'school discipline and encouraged disruptive behaviour'. Samuel Walker, *In Defence of American Liberties, A History of the ACLU*, 2nd Edition (Carbondale, 1990), p. 307. According to Jamin Raskin, 'In mandating due process procedures the court misapprehended the reality of the normal teacher-pupil relationship' adding, 'We have relied for generations upon the experience, good faith and dedication of those who staff our public schools, and the non-adversarial means of airing grievances that always have been available to pupils and their parents'. Raskin, *We the Students*, pp. 151-156. In 1974, Congress had passed the Buckley amendment that guaranteed parents and students access to 'any and all' schools records, allowing them to challenge any derogatory information in a student's personal file.

their parents, guardian or teacher.[146] However, the lack of evidence concerning formal complaints or hearings between Garfield students and staff suggests that actual relationships became no worse than they had always been.

This might have been because the student rights movement and its accompanying freedom of expression transformed the classroom and the student-teacher relationship in the early 1970s. The Seattle School Board instructed the Garfield High School staff to,

> . . . consistently demonstrate in all formal and informal encounters with students, including not only those in classrooms, but also halls, offices, gyms, playfields, and lunchrooms, a system of human reciprocity, i.e., contacts and interactions characterized by mutual sharing, respect and acceptance of the rights and needs of each individual.[147]

To ensure the district's student contact guidelines were being followed, a Garfield Administration Management Team was developed to evaluate on a 'systematic and continuous basis' the job performance of all certified and classified personnel. As the environment at Garfield stabilised, the school experienced a lower rate of teacher turnover rate in the early 1970s, the annual rate averaging between 11 and 33 percent. Another factor in the 1972 school year was the entirely new administrative team at Garfield High. Roscoe B. Bass became the principal. New candidates also filled the vice-principal and assistant principal positions.[148] Caught in the administrative reshuffle, principal Howard

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[146] As David Tyack reports, school centred litigation doubled in state appellate and federal courts between 1967 and 1976. As cited in Grant, *The World We Created at Hamilton High*, p. 53. Gerald Grant argued that school employees were not immune to civil actions as teachers unions 'published cases where teachers' jobs were jeopardised when child-abuse machinery was invoked'. Grant, *The World We Created at Hamilton High*, p. 56.

[147] Seattle School District, Preliminary Planning Document III, 1975-76, 'An Operational Plan for Development of Garfield High School as an Innovative, Exemplary, and Comprehensive High School - Year III', Prepared by Dr. Hal Reasby, Deputy Superintendent (Seattle, 1975), p. 9.

[148] Prior to becoming principal, Roscoe Bass served as a school counsellor at Garfield High.

White had offered to stay on at Garfield, but was informed by Superintendent Bottomly 'that it was not necessary'.[149] By the early 1970s, the majority of teachers at Garfield were relatively new, mostly young, and drawn to teach in an urban multicultural setting out of a strong social conscience.[150] A Garfield graduate remarked, '. . . if I had been influenced much by my teachers, I'd probably be a Democrat'.[151] Many of the teachers had dispensed with coat and tie and dressed like college students. In the 1973 yearbook, a male teacher is pictured standing at the blackboard discussing an equation, wearing dark sunglasses.

In the classroom, rote learning was replaced with discussion. To facilitate the discussions, chairs were often arrayed so that students faced each other rather than the teacher. Teachers frequently ignored the curriculum, and virtually all aspects of coursework were left open to class negotiation. Instead of studying the Whiskey Rebellion as scheduled in Phil Blix's U.S. history class in 1972 for example, students discussed how 'parents ignore what their children do at school and how young teachers and students should have more say in whom the school hires.[152] Teachers were reported split on the validity of the informal, non-competitive approach taken in the Seattle area high schools in the early 1970s. The chairman of the Mathematics Department at Franklin High felt 'a lot of classes are dedicated to passing the time of day, rather than to passing on the essentials of a solid education'.[153]

The school also introduced team teaching in the early 1970s, but unfortunately 'team teaching' too often became 'turn teaching,' with teachers working in the classroom on

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[149] 'Garfield Head to Join Baltimore Staff Soon', *The Seattle Times*, August 17, 1972.
[150] Walter Learned chose to teach at the Garfield High, known as the 'Doghouse,' because he felt he could relate to the students since he grew up in similar surroundings. *Garfield Messenger*, September 1973.
[151] Seattle School District, 'After Graduation What?', p. 108.
[152] Brewster, 'Shall Franklin High Overcome?', p. 18.
[153] Brewster, 'Shall Franklin High Overcome?', p. 43.

alternate days.[154] This lack of continuity often resulted in a duplication of material covered, while progress was further hindered by the high rate of absenteeism. This meant that teachers spent the opening minutes of each period bringing up to date the students who had either 'cut' class or had been sick the previous day. Staff shortages at Garfield prompted the district to take unconventional steps to remedy the school's employment problems. In 1973, thirteen teacher trainees were hired to assist in the classroom, and uncertified teachers provided by the Central Area Motivation Program were brought in to teach the Afro-American Heritage course at Garfield.[155]

Many of the changes in the social relationships of the school were evident in small ways. In 1970, the principal at Garfield was officially referred to as the School Director, implying that the students viewed him more as a peer than as a figure of adult authority. Teachers and administrators were shifted to the back of the school yearbook in the early 1970s, and by the mid-1970s there were no indications of position. Hence, the school 'director' and the teachers were pictured alphabetically side-by-side with the janitorial and kitchen staff. No longer was the opening page of the school yearbook devoted to a picture of Garfield's principal and an accompanying personal message to the students. Again in the early 1970s, the school yearbooks contain candid photos of teachers and administrators above demeaning captions. The emphasis placed on student privacy, student rights and student power did little to improve disciplinary problems, the wane in school spirit, or the low motivation to learn at Garfield in the 1970s. By 1973, the

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[154] Martin L. Gross, 'Automated Education Ranks High Among U.S. Failures', *The Seattle Times*, February 23, 1969.

[155] Four of the teacher trainees assisted in the Language Arts Department, four in the Social Studies Department, three in the Science Department, one each in the Physical Education and Business Education Departments. *Garfield Messenger,* September 1973. The school chose to hire CAMP teachers because they had a 'depth of experience in the community and a rapport with the students'. Tommy Lee, 'At Garfield, Afro-American Course "Enlightens" Students', *The Seattle Times*, May 19, 1968.

Garfield Messenger was produced monthly by just six students, compared to 35 in 1970.[156]

Secondary students were offered a host of freedoms within the public school system in the early to mid-1970s. Students who did not want to attend the local high school could now complete their education at community college.[157] The number of high school diplomas granted through a Washington State community college increased dramatically. Community colleges issued a total of 207 high school diplomas in 1970-71, but following introduction of the high school completion programme, the number of diplomas awarded increased to 1,165 in just one year, a figure that represents a 460 percent increase. In 1975, the community college system granted a total of 2,596 high school diplomas. For many students, the Central Branch of the Seattle Community College served as a viable alternative for completing their high school education.

Despite all the school's efforts there remained a striking disparity between the ideas of students, parents, and the professional staff regarding educational goals. As the primary

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[156] The *Garfield Messenger* was supported by student ID card sales. The loss of sales meant the *Messenger* was published once a month rather than on a weekly basis. Lower activity card sales also reflect the disengagement of the student body in extra curricular activities.

[157] The Washington State Community College Act (1967) transferred community college responsibility from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to a newly created State Board for Community College Education. The transfer of duty was accompanied by an overall growth in the community college system in the State of Washington. By the late 1970s, the Washington Community College system included 27 colleges, 17 of which were established between 1961 and 1970. The mission of the junior college was to 'employ faculty and staff who are open to uncommon modes of instruction and learning, independent study, individual study, programmed study, use of radio and television, challenge tests or performances, variable (comparative) class sizes'. Harold G. Heiner, *Walking the Whatcom Way, The First 30 Years* (Bellingham, 1998), p. 54. As a student centred institution, the community college adopted a non-punitive 'F' policy of grading to foster the 'freedom of expression'. Heiner, *Walking the Whatcom Way*, p. 144. College administrators believed failure was a part of learning thus the punitive 'F' would only discourage students from experimenting in their coursework. In addition to the grading system that contained a no failing grade, there was no writing course required for graduation with an Associates Degree from an accredited community college. The academic standards of the community college came under question throughout the mid-1970s. The system responded in 1979 by requiring students to complete one English composition course before earning an Associates Degree.

goal of secondary education, the professional staff ranked obtaining 'information needed to make job selections' as number one, with learning how to manage 'money, property and resources' second, and developing skills to 'enter a specific field of work' as third. They ranked 'reading, writing, speaking and listening' skills as 17th out of 18 possible goals of a high school education. In striking contrast to these results, both parents and students ranked developing 'a desire for learning now and in the future' as the most important educational goal.[158]

Having come through a period of intensive change in the early 1970s, residents of the Central Area were not satisfied with the results at Garfield High. The struggle to desegregate the Seattle public schools continued to evoke strong emotion in the Central Area and white community. Following the tumultuous 1968-69 school year, the Shoreline School District in north Seattle terminated its transfer programme with the Central Area schools.[159] Dissatisfaction over proposed desegregation plans was evident in 1971 when the district suffered a levy failure, because of the lightest voter turnout in 20 years.[160] The School Board's policy for mandatory reassignment at the middle school level was a decision that took a heavy political toll. In the aftermath, School Board member Edward Palmason, noted as the 'board liberal,' was defeated in the fall of 1971, the 'first incumbent in memory to be unseated'.[161] Board member Bob Tidwell resigned in March 1972 and other members were the target of an unsuccessful recall in January 1973, while

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[158] Seattle School District, District Goals Process Coordinating Committee, Technical Staff-Planning/Research and Evaluation Department, 'Seattle School District Goal Process: Final Report' (Seattle, 1973). It is possible to interpret this result, of course, as a sign of teachers' awareness of national educational policy rather than an indication of their own pedagogical beliefs.

[159] In 1968-69, 27 white elementary, junior and senior high students transferred from Shoreline to Central Area schools. Less than four Seattle students transferred to Shoreline.

[160] According to the *Garfield Messenger*, the levy failed because of three factors: the dissatisfaction of north Seattle voters over the School Board's plan to begin desegregation, higher property tax assessments, and 'low key campaigning by levy supporters'. *Garfield Messenger*, April 1971.

[161] Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, p. 25.

within a year Dave Wagoner and Beverley Smith declined to seek re-election. Not immune to the political pressure, Superintendent Bottomly resigned in August 1973, 'before obtaining a new position elsewhere'.[162] Bottomly felt strongly that 'We do not want to play around with little children's lives because adults are not able to solve their civil rights problems'.[163] The School Board appointed assistant superintendent, Loren Troxel, as Bottomly's replacement in August 1973. The controversy over mandatory desegregation instigated a five-year halt in the bid to end segregation in the Seattle public schools.[164]

In the absence of a desegregation plan, the number of minority isolated schools in the Seattle School District increased from 17 to 26 during the early to mid-1970s.[165] In addition to persistent educational concerns, Garfield remained a predominantly black school, reporting a 77 percent African American enrolment in 1974. To discuss the future of the Central Area schools, residents of the district gathered during a six-hour Open Forum on March 30, 1974. At the end of the Forum, the group demanded 'quality education, not desegregation', complete funding for Garfield 'B' including transportation

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[162] Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, p. 30.

[163] Pieroth, 'With All Deliberate Caution', p. 55. Siqueland argued that Bottomly's early resignation 'was a personal sacrifice, which increased the likelihood that individuals supportive of desegregation in Seattle would be elected to the School Board, thereby insuring the continuation of Seattle's desegregation effort'. The impact of Bottomly's early resignation is questionable. As School Board member Ellen Roe recalled in 1979, 'she would not vote for any desegregation plan that was not exclusively voluntary'. Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, pp. 27-31.

[164] In a study of Boston's reaction to court-ordered busing, Ronald Formisano concluded that the opposition to mandatory busing arose from the 'interplay of race and class in admixture with ethnicity and place, or turf'. Formisano recalled the words of author Robert Bellah and colleagues in *Habits of the Heart,* who concluded that freedom 'is perhaps the most resonant, deeply held American value . . . yet freedom turns out to mean being left alone by others, not having other people's values, ideas, or styles of life forced upon one . . .', hence, mandatory busing 'amounted to having other people's values forced on them'. Formisano, *Boston Against Busing*, p. 237. On April 20, 1971, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* that the busing of students could be ordered to achieve racial desegregation. Field, *Civil Rights in America*, p. 99.

[165] The increasing number of schools with substantial minority student enrollment was the result of a continuing decline in white enrolment and a shift in the housing patterns of Seattle's minority population, especially the black community, who moved towards the southeast areas of the city. In 1970, 17 schools in the district had a minority enrolment greater than 50 percent. In 1976-77, 26 schools had met or exceeded this percentage.

between Garfield 'A' and 'B' and, if necessary, the elimination of the VRT programme which many felt was disruptive to Garfield High.[166]

In June 1974, the Seattle School Board adopted Resolution Number 1974-14 that 'affirmed its policy to work toward desegregation by whatever just, reasonable and educationally sound means which are available to us'.[167] The resolution approved a plan for school desegregation that was to be implemented during the 1974-75 school year. The plan included initiating multi-ethnic human relations in-service training for district personnel; expanding and refining efforts to increase student participation in the voluntary racial transfer programme; conducting a boundary realignment study to determine if the school boundaries could be changed to reduce racial isolation in the Central District and further barring white students from transferring out of Garfield. By taking these actions the Seattle School District hoped to meet desegregation guidelines.[168] The 1974 Resolution further accepted an Affirmative Action Program which, besides monitoring the school district's employment practices, was to provide 'human relations training', as well as develop curriculum and instructional methods to eliminate sex bias in the classroom.

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[166] Seattle School District, Desegregation Program Narrative (Seattle, 1973).
[167] *Ibid.*
[168] There was no standard measure of segregation applied uniformly by courts, federal agencies, state governments or local school districts. The federal guideline stipulated that no school was to exceed the district-wide combined minority enrolment by 20 percent or more. In 1970, the Washington State Board of Education adopted the 'Forty Percent Rule', which stipulated that no school could have a single minority enrolment of more than 40 percent. Nand Hart-Nibbrig, *School Desegregation Politics: Seattle, Washington*, Washington Public Policy Notes, Institute of Governmental Research, University of Washington, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Winter, 1979). During discussion in 1971, the Central Area School Council called for a desegregation plan that would provide for either a 50 percent black and 50 percent white student split, or a minimum of 60 percent white and 40 percent black. Previously the CASC favoured a 70 percent white, 30 percent black student distribution. Siqueland argued the policy shift reflects the ongoing debate between integrationists and black separatists in the Central District community. Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, p. 15. In May 1976, the Seattle School Board adopted the 40 percent single minority guideline as its definitional standard. Hanawalt and Williams, 'The History of Desegregation', p. 37.

The 1974 operational plan introduced a series of scheduling and curriculum changes at Garfield. Beginning in 1974, students attended seven classes each day for 45 minutes.[169] Students could use the seventh period as a study hall, an early dismissal, a late arrival, or if behind a few credits, students could elect a subject area class. Some students ended up with the free period in the middle of the day. Students were now required to complete 55 percent of their coursework in elective study, 30 percent in the academic subject areas, and 15 percent in vocational, physical education and home economics. Classes at Garfield 'B' were two hours in length and worth two credits, a decision that weighted vocational studies.[170] Students attended school from 7:45 am until 2:30 pm. The School Board shifted the schedule to an earlier start time in order to accommodate after-school jobs. The proliferation of electives continued as the number of secondary courses increased to 335 by the late 1970s. Garfield implemented an Attendance Counseling Experiment in 1974 involving 42 non-instructional staff who volunteered to counsel one or more students with a high rate of absenteeism.[171]

The difficulties of trying to implement a number of new programmes and services in the early to mid-1970s were compounded by the general inflation that pushed Seattleites to examine more closely where their tax dollars were being spent.[172] As a result of repeated levy failures there was an increased interest in accountability within the public schools. By the mid-1970s, the Seattle school system had identified and enrolled many students in

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[169] The total study time for each class was increased from 6 hours 15 minutes every two weeks to 7 ½ hours.
[170] The two-hour class schedule at Garfield 'B' also favoured the sciences, giving extra time for laboratory experiments.
[171] Seattle School District, 'Audit of Garfield High School Process Objectives' (Seattle 1974). Students with the highest absentee rates were given 'priority' from service personnel. Potential dropouts were referred to the Work Experience Coordinator. Throughout the 1973-74 school year, grade level counsellors made more than 11,544 student-parent contacts. *Ibid.*
[172] Voter approved tax levy rates declined from 42.99 mills in 1970 (or $52,643,766) to a low of .81 mills in 1976 ($5,839,947); by 1982 the mill rate in the Seattle School District had increased to just 1.87 ($34,619,905). Seattle School District, Tax Levy Rate Comparison 1946-1982 (Seattle, 1982), p. 77.

various alternative educational programmes including special education, GAP, Career Opportunity Program, Soul Academy,[173] Project Interchange, as well as instituting the Individualised Instruction Plan.[174] To determine the success or failure of these programmes, the Minimum Competencies Assurance Program was implemented citywide in 1975. The screening test was designed to guarantee, to the greatest extent possible, that students graduating from the Seattle Public Schools would be able to 'earn a living, travel from place to place, and manage money'.[175] The competency test was first given to students in the tenth grade, allowing school administrators time to identify those who fell below the minimum level in mathematics, English, or reading, and in all were given three opportunities to pass the test. Students needing special instruction were enrolled in an independent-study refresher course.[176] In the senior year, students who had been involved in a refresher course and who remained deficient in the basic skills were enrolled in a Basic Life-Skills class that focused on 'hands-on' training in each of the basic competency tasks in which the student had not achieved an acceptable result.

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[173] Supported by URRD funds, the 'Soul Academy' was established in 1969 to work with dropouts in the Central Area community. The Academy was originally part of the SEEK programme, a summer school that offered students a more flexible alternative when earning high school credit. As part of SEEK, students participated in camping trips to the Olympic wilderness, boutique classes, a film-making project, drop-in swimming classes and various day camps. All SEEK classes were free and most offered credits. Situated one block from Garfield High, the Academy provided an off-street location where youths could congregate, hold 'rap sessions about schools, jobs, values and beliefs,' receive tutoring and counselling, as well as come into contact informally with teachers, counsellors and job developers. Working closely with the Central Area administrators, the CASC, and the new Garfield High administration, the Soul Academy was developed to help reintroduce dropout students into the educational system. The academy's nine-member staff worked with students to help define future goals, as well as find ways to meet these aims with the help of the Seattle schools.

[174] As outlined previously in Chapter 5, the school district's financial concerns were compounded by the striking difference in cost per pupil between students enrolled in special education and those who attended regular classes.

[175] Seattle School District, Basic Skills Department, 'A Synopsis and Overview of the Seattle Minimum Competencies Assurance Program' (Seattle, 1975), p. 1.

[176] The work was completed through individually designed programmes with the student reporting to a teacher on a weekly basis.

The Minimum Competency Assurance Program measured a student's ability to perform the following basic tasks:

1. Complete forms such as job applications, voter registration, ballots and written tests such as a driver's license test.
2. Count money and make change.
3. Compute total wages and verify a paycheck.
4. Read and follow simple directions for operating appliances and assembling simple items.
5. Read, follow and alter (if necessary) simple food preparation instructions.
6. Read and interpret advertisements such as want ads and food ads.
7. Read and interpret product labels such as: inflammable, caution. The student will be able to read and recognise danger signs and symbols and know a survival vocabulary such as: EXIT, POISON, MEN, WOMEN, POLICE.
8. Compare prices for food, housing and clothing.
9. Read and interpret newspaper headlines, subheads and leads.
10. Use news, schedules, timetables, simple charts and road maps.
11. Write simple business and informal letters.
12. Use the basic units of English and metric measurement.
13. Read and use a telephone directory for general and emergency purposes.
14. Give a clear and simple oral direction.
15. Use a dictionary.
16. Follow oral directions to perform a simple task.[177]

Clearly, the Minimum Competency Assurance Test looks more like a page from a 2nd grade workbook rather than an exam which qualified students for a high school diploma.[178] Again it is difficult to know how far this should be taken as an accurate guide to classroom standards. A 'Literary Crisis' of 1975 had been sparked off by a decline in SAT scores and an investigation by the College Board, a Health, Education and Welfare enquiry into reading skills, a National Institute of Education special conference and a

[177] *Ibid.* To measure the validity of the screening and diagnostic tests, school officials compared students' scores to teacher evaluations and Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT) scores.
[178] See Appendix 2 for a sample of the Reading and Mathematics Minimum Competency Test.

media campaign spearheaded by *Newsweek* completed and publicised all these stories.[179] Throughout the 1970s, school officials were being asked to do more with less public support, both financial and psychological. The strain lowered the morale at Garfield even further. The timing of the Minimum Competency Assurance Program suggests that it was the state's politician's response to the 'Literacy Crisis', in order to pre-empt criticism of their previous policies.

In the mid-1970s, the Urban League, NAACP, American Civil Liberties Union, and the Seattle Council of Churches intensified their efforts to push the Seattle School District to meet the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling. To address school desegregation, a District-Wide Advisory Committee (DWAC) was established in 1974.[180] During the next three years the committee met as a task force and communication link between such organisations as the NAACP, the League of Women Voters, the Central Area School Council, the Mayor's office, the Chamber of Commerce, plus numerous other agencies.[181] DWAC worked to identify the desegregation criteria envisioned by each of these organisations. In the meantime, voters remained dissatisfied with the Seattle schools. In early 1975, the district suffered a double levy loss, Seattle's first in years.[182] Because of the levy failures, there was a further loss of interest in students participating in

[179] Schor, *Culture Wars*, pp. 60-75. Sidney Marland, now head of the College Board which administered the SAT, was again at the heart of the controversy, as he had been the major proponent of career education.
[180] DWAC was a 45-member citizen group appointed by the Superintendent Troxel.
[181] A few others mentioned were the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, the Church Council of Greater Seattle, the Committee for Southeast Seattle Schools, and the PTSA. Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, p. 44.
[182] Siqueland argues the double levy loss resulted from a lack of support by the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, who did not hold in 'high regard' Superintendents Bottomly and Troxel's approach to fiscal management. During the hiring process of the new superintendent in 1975 and 1976, the Chamber of Commerce worked closely with the School Board to insure the district hired a candidate who 'spoke budget fluently and without accent'. Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, p. 104.

the VRT programme.[183] Seattle's black community continued to advocate mandatory desegregation as long as the plan required the participation of black and white student transfers in equal numbers. In 1976, the School Board hired David Moberly to serve as the district's new superintendent. Moberly was reportedly not an advocate of mandatory desegregation, but rather proposed to desegregate the Seattle schools by expanding the magnet school plan, a provisional plan that was adopted by the School Board in March 1977. The Magnet Plan drew intense opposition in the black community - many feared the programme would again fail to solve the problem of segregation in the Central Area schools.

However, the increasing number of minority segregated schools located within the Seattle School District, and the levelling off in the number of students involved in the voluntary racial transfer programme, prompted the School Board to take stronger desegregation measures to avoid the certainty of legal action.[184] By exceeding the minority enrolment requirement, the school district also jeopardised receipt of federal funding under the Emergency School Aid Act.[185] Finally, on December 15, 1977 the Seattle School Board voted to adopt the *Seattle School Desegregation Plan.* With the passage of the *Seattle Plan*, the city of Seattle became the first major school district in the nation to achieve a community-created programme for school desegregation without a court order. By doing so, the district was able to maintain local control over its

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[183] In May 1975, the Bellevue School District stopped offering VRT students bus transportation between Bellevue and Mercer Island and Garfield and Franklin High, and vice-versa. In 1975, only one student from the three school districts (Bellevue, Mercer Island and Seattle) participated in the VRT programme, and none participated in 1976-77.

[184] In 1977-78, there were 14 schools in which black enrolment was more than 40 percent including 12 elementary schools, one junior high school and Garfield High. Hanawalt and Williams, 'The History of Desegregation', p. 64. In April 1977, the local chapter of the NAACP filed a complaint of civil rights violation with the U.S. Office of Civil Rights. Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, pp. 108-109.

[185] In May 1976 the Seattle School Board officially adopted the 40 percent single minority guideline as its definitional standard for identifying a racially isolated school. Hanawalt and Williams, 'The History of Desegregation', p. 14.

desegregation plan.[186] The *Seattle Plan* was designed to desegregate the entire school district over a three-year period. The emphasis of the plan was on desegregating the segregated schools and not on providing racial balance at every school within the district. Desegregation was to occur through application of four components; zone reorganisation, the pairing or triading of elementary schools, a change in the assignment patterns for secondary schools, and the expansion of the voluntary transfer programme through the development of additional educational transfer options. To accomplish the plan objective, predominantly white elementary schools were joined in pairs or triads with largely minority secondary schools. The key to a student's assignment was the elementary school area in which a student lived. The plan called for extensive mandatory busing which involved approximately 12,500 students in 35 of the district's 83 elementary schools during the first year of operation. The average bus ride was approximately 30 to 45 minutes in length. Garfield was designated and paired with Nathan Hale High, Lincoln High, and Roosevelt High, all located in north Seattle.[187] However, to avoid disruption, secondary students were permitted to complete their education at the school in which they were already enrolled. Thus, it would take four years to achieve a 'full cycle' for desegregation at Garfield. Rather than dispersing students in different directions, the *Seattle Plan* used an entire neighbourhood as the basic unit for reassignment. As a result, students tended to be in schools in which their own ethnic group was well represented.[188]

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[186] The *Seattle Plan* received widespread support from the Mayor's office, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Municipal League of Seattle and King County.
[187] Garfield's feeder schools included Hamilton Middle School and Eckstein Middle School, both located in north Seattle.
[188] Hanawalt and Williams, 'The History of Desegregation', p. 38.

The *Seattle Plan* received widespread support of the community.[189] When school opened in 1978, 'there was not a single incident of violence or confrontation'.[190]

The *Seattle Plan* was intended to provide quality, integrated education to all students in the Seattle area. To enhance the academic programme, the School Board strengthened graduation requirements in the academic subject areas for students commencing grade nine in the fall of 1977. The requirements for English were increased to nine credits or three years of study. Students also needed to complete two and half years of study in social studies coursework, an increase of 3.5 credits.[191] The mathematics requirement was more than doubled from two credits to 4.5 credits, with work in laboratory science increased by one credit. The requirements for study in occupational education and physical education coursework were also nominally increased. To accommodate these changes, there was a corresponding decrease in the number of credits required in the health education and unspecified elective categories. The overall breakdown was: 40 percent of coursework to be completed in academic subjects, 40 percent in electives, with the remaining 20 percent through coursework in vocational, occupational, health and recreation classes. The breakdown of staff assignments at Garfield is again reflective of the modified curriculum. From a low of 45 percent in 1972-73, teacher assignments in the academic subject areas increased to 57 percent of the total certified staff at Garfield in 1977-78.

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[189] The Desegregation Services Department, headed by Roscoe Bass, was developed to offer support in bus supervision, staff training programmes, inter-group relations, conflict resolution, curriculum development and student orientation. Hanawalt and Williams, 'The History of Desegregation', p. 36.

[190] Hanawalt and Williams, 'The History of Desegregation', p. 39. As Hart-Nibbrig argues, the *Seattle Plan* did not cause an irreparable social and political cleavage in Seattle, in part because of the 'pragmatic low-key character to Seattle's political actors' who were considered 'critical to managing this potentially explosive issue'. Hart-Nibbrig, *School Desegregation Politics*. Pieroth also argues the broad community support and Seattle's relatively small black population were key factors to the initial success of the *Seattle Plan*.

[191] Students were required to complete World History I, II, III, U.S. History 11A ,11B, and American Government and Economics 12.

Along with the *Seattle Plan* there was a corresponding increase in educational options for high school students. Parents and students could select a magnet programme over a mandatory school assignment. To attract more students into the voluntary transfer programme, the magnet programme was expanded district-wide.[192] The Science Magnet Program at Garfield was enhanced to include Health Sciences, Marine Science, Physical Sciences and Environmental Education. The construction of new science facilities at Garfield High followed the curriculum change. High school students were also given the option to complete credits through an Alternative Learning Experience programme, Correspondence Courses, as well as serving as teacher assistants, library assistants and office assistants. The total credits earned in these educational options could not exceed ten percent of the total credits required for high school graduation. As a result of the renovations at Garfield 'A', school officials decided to consolidate the student body by closing Garfield 'B' at the end of the 1976-77 school year.[193]

Despite early signs of public approval for the *Seattle Plan*, in the fall of 1978 State Initiative 350 was placed on the ballot, a measure to prevent school authorities from assigning a student to any school other than the school 'nearest or next nearest' a student's home.[194] On November 7, 1978, it passed by a 2-to-1 majority.[195] However, at the request

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[192] The expanded magnet programme included a Business Administration Option, Career Readiness, Environmental Education, Graphic Communications, Health Science, Humanities-Advanced Placement, Marine Science, Mass Communication, Multi-Arts and Physical Sciences.

[193] The opening of the Garfield 'B' campus was an experimental project that, in the end, was argued to have undermined school spirit, pride and unity at Garfield High.

[194] In part, the busing issue had been defused by legislation passed by Congress in 1976 and 1978 that restricted busing as a remedy for school desegregation. In 1978, an amendment to the Civil Rights Act, Title VI forbade busing 'beyond the school geographically nearest their homes in order to carry out a desegregation plan involving grade restructuring, pairing or clustering'. Herman Belz, *Equality Transformed, A Quarter-Century of Affirmative Action* (New Brunswick, 1991), p. 292.

[195] As Hart-Nibbrig reports, from their vote on Initiative 350, white voters overwhelmingly voted for the initiative, African American parents were in favour of mandatory busing as means to desegregate the public

of the Seattle School District, Judge Donald Voorhees issued a restraining order against the Initiative until further review by the Federal District Court. On June 15, 1978, Judge Voorhees ruled Initiative 350 unconstitutional and allowed bussing to continue for non-racial reasons. A second effort to terminate the *Seattle Plan* was launched in 1981 with House Bill 711 being passed by both houses and 'allowed to become law by Governor Spellman without his signature'.[196] Again, the Seattle School District responded by filing a suit in the Federal District Court, an action that resulted in the overturn of House Bill 711 on the grounds that it was unconstitutional because it cut off state reimbursement of student transportation for desegregation. Pending adjudication, the desegregation plan proceeded according to schedule. The success of the *Seattle Plan* was evident. By 1981, all schools within the Seattle School District were considered racially balanced.[197] As Hart-Nibbrig notes, 'it was ironic that only court action' allowed the heralded desegregation process as being formulated 'without a court order' to go forward.[198]

Amidst the controversy, the minority percentage at Garfield had been lowered. In the 1977-78 school year, of Garfield's 1,212 students, 78.42 percent of the students were minority, and by 1980 this figure had dropped to 55.7 percent.[199] In a 1980 district-wide study of student transfers, the number of students who transferred to Garfield for either the magnet programme or the options programmes remained very low. In 1980, 66 students from across the district chose to transfer to Garfield for enrolment in the science magnet

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schools; non-black minorities were split over the ballot issue. Hart-Nibbrig, *School Desegregation Politics*. Seven prominent black leaders in Seattle made a joint statement in support of the *Seattle Plan* for in principle, the plan ensured equity of movement, that is, 'minority and white students sharing equally the inconveniences of busing'. As cited in Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, p. 176. Despite ongoing friction between the black and Asian communities in Seattle, the Japanese American Citizens League and the Asian American Education Association both endorsed the *Seattle Plan*.

[196] Hanawalt and Williams, 'The History of Desegregation', p. 41.

[197] Hanawalt and Williams, 'The History of Desegregation', p. 38.

[198] Hart-Nibbrig, *School Desegregation Politics*.

[199] Siqueland, *Without a Court Order*, p. 184. In 1980, Garfield's student body was 49 percent black and 6.7 percent Asian and other minorities.

programme.[200] The total number of students who transferred into Garfield during the 1980 spring and fall quarters for enrolment in the options programmes was 104.[201]

The Seattle School District had dedicated a decade of effort to improving the educational programmes at Garfield High. Yet student apathy, boredom, lack of respect, hostility, disengagement and cynicism all remained evident. The teachers' own discontent was visible in a dramatic increase in union membership and a willingness to use militant tactics, including strikes and the threat of strikes, in contract negotiations.[202] In 1974, teachers at Garfield had ranked 'lack of administrative support' as the number one problem in education, followed by the need for more instructional materials, the misuse of funds and the 'power hungry' administration.[203] Heightened interest in student rights and the focus on accountability made matters worse and further weakened teacher autonomy in the classroom and beyond.[204] In the pursuit of improved test scores, the principal's presence in the classroom, periodic examinations and evaluations of teachers, as well as

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[200] Seattle School District, Department of Student Placement, Table 1, 'District-Wide Student Transfers by Reason for Transfer, April 10, 1980 to October 11, 1980' (Seattle, 1980).

[201] *Ibid.*

[202] From 1960 to 1980 the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association grew from 59,000 and 714,000 respectively, to 551,359 to over 1,100,155 members. Marjorie Murphy, *Blackboard Unions, The AFT and the NEA, 1900-1980* (Ithaca, 1990), p. 277. By 1972, classroom teachers were required to belong to the national as well as state organisations. As a result of the fiscal constraints of the 1970s and 1980s, Murphy argues that 'teachers' organisations had to form coalitions in communities, participate in local elections, and press for alliances not just with labor organisations but with businessmen and other professionals . . . in other words, collective bargaining had made teachers assume a much more aggressive political stance and forced a new definition of professionalism'. Murphy, *Blackboard Unions*, p. 268. According to Murphy, the rise in collective bargaining held the potential to threaten or destroy teacher professionalism for, as she writes, '. . . if teachers behaved like trade unionists they would lose all respect and status in the community'. Murphy, *Blackboard Unions*, pp. 209-210.

[203] Seattle School District, Al Smith, Title VIII Auditor, Richard Fain, Title VIII Coordinator, 'Initial orientation of the activities and objectives of the schools Title VIII program' (Seattle, 1974). White teachers also felt reluctant to impose the same disciplinary standards on black and white students fearing a reprisal from the administration and the black community.

[204] Yet, the increased focus on teacher accountability showed Garfield in a good light. At the end of each quarter, teachers were evaluated by means of the Teacher Accountability Appraisal Form. In the 1976-77 school year, 67 percent of Garfield's teachers received an overall rating of 'above average or better' in teaching performance. Seattle School District, 'Teacher Performance' (Seattle, 1977).

the scrutiny of each class's standardised test achievement scores were all a 'slur on the teacher's ability to make pedagogical judgments'.[205]

By the early 1980s, the value of a high school education had diminished to such an extent that students deemed schooling as merely 'going through the motions'.[206] Student apathy was evident in the drop in extra curricular participation, the inactivity of the Student Government, and the deterioration of the *Garfield Messenger*, produced by a mere eleven students, and which by 1980 was just four pages in length. The *Garfield Messenger* was fraught with grammatical errors and misspelled words by the early 1980s. Student career aspirations and course enrolment patterns reflect a sense of detachment from high school study. When asked about future ambitions, many students responded with irony stating, 'treasure hunter,' 'hang glider pilot,' 'bum,' 'photographer,' or 'animator'.[207] Some students were 'undecided,' whilst others facetiously noted it was a 'tie between dope dealer and street worker'.[208] One student responded with, 'work, and who knows what that means?'.[209] If adolescent aspirations and expectations provide a 'useful and valid clue' to their 'social and economic futures', young Garfieldites were perhaps intrinsically aware of the incongruity between the promise of American democracy and the reality of growing up in a ghetto, black and poor.[210] In the words of Ralph Ellison, 'These kids . . . are living critics of their environment, of our society, and our educational system'.[211]

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[205] Larry Cuban, 'Transforming the Frog into a Prince: Effective Schools Research, Policy and Practice at the District Level', *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (May 1984), p. 149.
[206] *Garfield Messenger*, May 1982.
[207] Garfield High School, *Arrow Yearbook*, 1980-83.
[208] *Ibid.*
[209] *Ibid.*
[210] Paul M. Sniderman, Philip E. Tetlock and Edward G. Carmines, *Prejudice, Politics and the American Dilemma* (Stanford, 1993), p. 294.
[211] Ralph Ellison, *Going to the Territory* (New York, 1986), p. 74. John McWhorter has stated that 'self-sabotage' in Black America has undermined the community's interest in receiving an education. As argued

By the early 1980s, Garfield High School was defaced with graffiti, broken windows were not repaired but simply replaced by plywood squares, the lawn was sparse, and the shrubbery was all but gone.[212] Despite a decade of sustained efforts, the dropout rate at Garfield remained high at 19.3 percent in 1982-83. In spite of the plethora of new initiatives, satellite programmes, the proliferation of electives, individualised study, the discussion-based curriculum and informal classroom, films, field trips and pass-fail grading into the high school programme of study, secondary schools in the Central District continued to report the highest concentration of short and long-term suspensions for non-attendance and behavioural reasons in the Seattle School District during the 1982-83 school year.[213] In the 1983-84 fall and spring semesters, the mean grade point average at Garfield High School was between 2.34 and 2.36.

In 1977, when the Seattle School Board ranked in order of importance the requirements for high school graduation, they were, 'time, credit, course, and skill'. Although the School Board strengthened the academic subject requirements in 1977, the philosophy behind the reform remained unchanged. As one student wrote,

GARFIELD

G is for genius which is hard to find

A is for away which is on my mind

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by McWhorter, the black community's penchant for anti-intellectualism is due, in part, to a separatist impulse, 'which paints "nerdy" thinking as incommensurate with membership in the group one considers home'. According to McWhorter, a black child who did better in school was 'usually ripe for the oreo charge,' which does not cease once black people reach adulthood, 'it is endemic to all age groups'. John H. McWhorter, *Losing the Race, Self-Sabotage in Black America* (New York, 2000), pp. 141-144.

[212] Photo in Seattle School District, History of Garfield High School (Seattle, 1981).

[213] Seattle School District, Curriculum and Instruction Division, Department of Instructional Analysis, 'Individual High School and Middle School Report of Disciplinary Actions During the Entire 1982-1983 School Year' (Seattle, 1984).

R is for rich which my class is not

F is for fun, and plenty we got

I is for ideas and knowledge you know

E is for exit and your time to go

L is for learning for which you strive

D is for determination which is your drive.[214]

Despite dissatisfaction with the academic programme at Garfield, this student's indomitable spirit survived.[215] But what happens when dreams go unfulfilled? Langston Hughes envisioned an explosion of sorts, a response to a century of fear and frustration. Indeed, this is what happened when the Central District of Seattle exploded with violence and gang warfare in the early to mid-1980s.[216] For black Seattleites, the problems of unemployment and underemployment proved intractable, generating a host of ancillary symptoms including rising crime rates, drug abuse, and single-parent homes headed by young, poorly educated women.[217] As Quintard Taylor argued, demolishing century-old barriers through social reform does not ensure equality or opportunity; 'that challenge,' he adds must 'await a future generation'.[218]

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[214] *Garfield Messenger*, March 1977.

[215] Garfield honoured the return of Quincy Jones to his alma mater in 1983, an 'example of a person who has accomplished the ultimate dream: Success'. Garfield High School, *Arrow Yearbook*, 1983.

[216] In a poem entitled 'What Happens to a Dream Deferred? Langston Hughes asks, 'Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun? Or fester like a sore – and then run? Does it stink like rotten meat? Or crust and sugar over – like a syrupy sweet? Maybe it just sags like a heavy load. Or does it explode?' As cited in David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue, Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York, 1982), p. 214. In the 1980s a new underclass emerged which consisted of millions of African Americans living below the poverty line. These were the 'black unemployed, the fatherless families, the high school dropouts, the petty criminals, the urban homeless, the unskilled, the welfare survivors whom the nation and its uplift forces and agencies cannot rescue'. Harold Cruse, cited in Formisano, *Boston Against Busing*, p. xi.

[217] Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community*, p. 233.

[218] *Ibid.*

Chapter 6

Bellingham High School 1969-1983

An editorial in the *Bellingham Beacon* summed up student opinion in late 1969, 'Vietnam is a bummer . . . and speaking of prejudice, we usually don't'.[1] Articles covering the war, the struggle for civil rights and racial prejudice were noticeably absent from the student newspaper at Bellingham High. As the students noted, the 'good ol' WASPish' Bellingham High School environment offered 'no one to be racially against'.[2] The total enrolment at Bellingham High was approximately 1,400 in 1970, of whom less than three percent were minority students. Removed from the civil rights movement, students at Bellingham considered minorities 'pampered and coddled' and themselves the 'discriminated against majority'.[3] The continuing insularity of the city of Bellingham in the early 1970s induced students to consider war and racism as 'irrelevant topics'.[4] The only student protest to affect Bellingham High occurred in 1970 when 25 Western Washington University students walked the school halls distributing *Peace Now* pamphlets. Once the vice-principal had advised the university students of the illegality of their actions they left the school grounds before Bellingham Police arrived on campus.[5] Whereas Garfield High experienced a ferment of intense activity in the late 1960s and early 1970s, increasing apathy best describes the ethos of Bellingham High during the same period. In the absence of pressing social activism, students used the *Bellingham*

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[1] Bellingham High School, *Bellingham Beacon*, November 14, 1969.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Bellingham Beacon,* Student Forum, April 24, 1970.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Bellingham Beacon,* May 8, 1970.

Beacon as a forum to quote biblical passages, warn against a Bellingham Bay invasion of both 'hippies' and 'commies' and admonish fellow students for 'liking' school.[6]

Despite the cultural differences between the Central District and Bellingham, the essential pedagogical structure of Bellingham High developed very much along the same lines as Garfield High School after 1969. Beginning in the fall of 1969, Bellingham High became a four-year institution following a three-quarter schedule. The system was adopted to allow flexibility and choice in individualising the high school programme while 'still preserving the elements of a quality education'.[7] The scheduling changes were designed to allow students the opportunity to develop a broad, basic education, while giving ample time for specialisation. Following adoption of the quarter schedule, the minimum class load changed from eight to twelve subjects each year while the maximum increased from 12 to 15.

Shifting to the quarter schedule lowered the high school graduation requirements at Bellingham. After 1969, the total number of required credits for high school graduation remained static. However, because the three-quarter system enabled students to earn the same number of credits in 12 weeks as were previously earned during an 18-week semester, the conscientious student who chose to take a full credit load was given the option to either graduate with extra credits or finish early.[8] In order to graduate at mid-year, a student had to fulfil all requirements for graduation with a 3.5 or higher cumulative

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[6] *Bellingham Beacon*, December 19, 1969.
[7] Bellingham School District, Bellingham School Board Minutes, February 25, 1969. By the early 1970s, 76.9 percent of American 17 year olds were graduating from a public high school. The 'tangle of kids' writes Theodore Sizer 'makes an awful bureaucratic mess'. Sizer argued that schools chose to 'simplify and loosen up the program' by adapting to the 'students rather than making them adapt to the routines'. Theodore R. Sizer, *Horace's School, Redesigning the American High School* (Boston, 1992), p. 91.
[8] The State time requirement for each subject was 120 hours.

grade point average. On the other hand, by consolidating the school schedule, students who failed a subject were given time to repeat, 'without going to summer school or falling behind their scheduled class graduation'.[9] The three-quarter system was furthermore intended to provide some students with greater exposure to pre-vocational subjects and work experience, while still completing their high school education. As the school board stated, 'This may help keep some of our students from dropping out'.[10] To maintain attendance until graduation, a student had to earn at least eight credits in their senior year, unless granted special permission by the principal.

Under the revised system, the calendar year was divided into four quarters, with the traditional six-period class schedule replaced by a five-period day. After 1969, the school day began at 8:00 am and ended at 2:30 pm. The new five-period schedule permitted classes to be 65 minutes in length; and in addition to a 30-minute lunch break and a ten-minute snack break,[11] students attended school a total of six and a half hours each day.[12] The school district chose to shorten the school day in order to give students more after-school time for extra curricular activities and employment possibilities.[13] During the daily snack break, from 10:20 am to 10:30 am, students were free to wander the halls, obtain a snack at a vending machine, purchase spirit goodies, red/white pom poms or red raider buttons, which were sold by the Girls Club in the school's main foyer. For 50 cents,

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[9] Bellingham School Board Minutes, February 25, 1969.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] The snack break was added to the school schedule in 1969.
[12] Previously, students attended school from 8:00 am until 3:15 pm with six class periods each day that were 55 to 60 minutes in length, the lunch break was 40 minutes, totalling a 7 ¼ hour school day.
[13] As reported by Michael Sedlak and his colleagues, for males 16 to 19 years old in high school, the rate of employment increased from one-third in 1960 to one-half in 1977. Sedlak, *et al., Selling Students Short,* p. 59. According to Sedlak, the increasing number of students employed in after-school jobs resulted in 'intense competition to have morning classes'. Students who did not work were found to have spent more time on homework study, although Sedlak adds, 'not much more which suggests a reduction across the board'. Sedlak, et al., *Selling Students Short,* p. 62. Robert Hampel's study revealed that in 1960, a typical senior devoted nine hours per week to homework study. By 1980, this figure had dropped to only four hours. Robert Hampel, *The Last Little Citadel, American High Schools Since 1940* (Boston, 1986), p. 90.

students could also purchase a 'homemade' cinnamon roll, hot from the ovens at Bellingham High.

By lowering the number of required subjects to five, the school district felt the reduction in daily preparations would encourage students to concentrate more of their attention on each class, thereby improving the quality of learning. As one former student recalled, the homework load was typically 'very light'.[14] According to the school administration, homework was thought to choke student interest.[15] In the extended class period of 65 minutes, the additional ten minutes was designed to allow teachers to provide individual help, and to give lab classes more time to 'actually carry out' experiments.[16] A student responded by noting, '65 minutes gives too much time to get bored in'.[17]

As in previous years, 38 credits were required for high school graduation including eight credits in English,[18] six credits in social studies,[19] two credits in a lab science, two credits in mathematics, seven credits in physical education, health and homemaking, plus an additional thirteen credits to be fulfilled by elective coursework. The subject area breakdown was as follows; 47.4 percent of the total credits were to be fulfilled by classes in the academic subject areas; 18.4 percent through classes in physical education, health, and homemaking; and 34.2 percent in elective coursework.[20]

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[14] Interview with Judy Buchanan, October 6, 2000.
[15] *Bellingham Beacon*, March 27, 1972.
[16] *Bellingham Beacon,* September 25, 1969.
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] One credit of which was in Speech.
[19] One of which was in Concepts, two in Western World and Non-Western World, two in United States History, and one in Rights and Responsibilities.
[20] Prior to 1969, the subject breakdown was as follows: 35 percent of a student's coursework was to be completed in the academic subject areas, ten percent in home economics and physical education, and 55 percent were to be satisfied by elective coursework. The increase to 47.4 percent was necessitated by the shift to the quarter system which lowered the time spent in each class. Hence, in order to fulfil the State time

Although the school district abolished the formal tracking system in the mid-1960s, students were encouraged to make 'intelligent choices' regarding their elective coursework.[21] In determining the most suitable programme, students were asked to make their class choices after a 'realistic appraisal of one's abilities, interests, and future plans'.[22] The administration classified subjects into two categories. Group A subjects required considerable home study and included English, social studies, mathematics, science, foreign language, and business education. Group B subjects were those that did not require home study and included typing, art, music, homemaking, industrial arts, physical education and traffic safety. Students with a 3.0 to 4.0 grade point average were advised to take four subjects from Group A and one subject from Group B. The administration recommended that those with a 2.5 to 3.0 gpa select three classes from Group A and two from B; and finally students with a 1.0 to 2.5 gpa were advised to take two subjects from Group A and three from Group B. Not only could categorising students according to grade point average perpetuate academic laziness, but it also resembled earlier tracking methods and was abandoned by the mid-1970s.

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requirement for each subject, the school district increased the academic subject requirements for graduation; the actual time spent on academic subjects remained the same.

[21] Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Course Catalog 1969-1970 (Bellingham, 1969), p. 7. Prior to the mid-1960s, schools across the State of Washington required all freshmen to take the Kuder Occupational Interest Survey. The Kuder Test was designed with a forced-choice format and student responses were compared with those of men and women in a number of different occupations. Researchers have since raised questions about the validity of tracking as well as the undemocratic aims inherent in the practice. By requiring students to sit for the Kuder Survey, followed up with the appropriate high school program of study, the process of tracking students was found to solidify existing social strata and class distinctions. In Zytowski's 1973 study, the occupational questionnaire was found to be useful only for a limited number of persons, those who had been exposed to a variety of occupations. Otherwise, it appeared student interests followed much along the lines of parent, peers, and gender roles set by contemporary culture'. Administrators were cautioned to handle the Kuder Survey process with 'meticulous' care, a warning that recognised the inherent difficulties of being meticulous on a mass scale. Donald G. Zytowski, *Contemporary Approaches to Interest Measurement* (Minneapolis, 1973), p. 3, 135. In a study of the relationship between school tracking and social stratification, James Rosenbaum argued the practice of tracking created social inequality because it tended to 'combine similar students and separate dissimilar students, and to differentially evaluate, rank and reward these groups, often to a far greater extent than is done in society'. James E. Rosenbaum, 'The Stratification of Socialization Processes', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 40 (February, 1975), p. 48.

[22] Bellingham High School Course Catalog 1969-1970, p. 9.

Bellingham High continued to award both the standard and terminal diploma during the early 1970s. The graduation requirements for these programmes were now the same. The terminal diploma was however, awarded to those students receiving a substantial number of circle grades, or 'S' marks.[23] The final decision rested with the counselling department and administration. In the early 1970s, Bellingham expanded the use of the pass-fail grading option to help 'avoid competition'.[24] The list of courses available for pass-fail grading was almost entirely academic; many were even required classes in the academic subject areas.[25] On the other hand, in order to select the pass-fail option in art, music, and home economics, students needed to make prior arrangements with the course instructor. The student was to make the decision during the first four weeks of the course as to whether they wanted to be graded on a regular or a pass-fail basis. Permitted one pass-fail per quarter, students often waited until the end of four weeks and then elected to receive a pass-fail grade in their most challenging class. The addition of the pass-fail grading option was a contributing factor to grade inflation. An editorial in the *Bellingham Beacon* summarised opposing arguments associated with offering pass-fail grades. Students in favour of the pass-fail option stated, 'Are you ever jealous of someone who gets higher grades than you? Pass-fail classes would put an end to it, there wouldn't be so

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[23] Circle grades were given to students who produced 'satisfactory' work in the class. The 'S' grade was the precursor to the pass-fail option. Students earned either a passing 'S' grade or a failing 'U' grade for work that was unsatisfactory and did not meet the class requirements.

[24] Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Course Catalog 1972-73 (Bellingham, 1972), p. 3. In support of the non-competitive approach to high school study, Alexander Astin has argued that the 'competitive world view' intensifies an individual's feeling of helplessness, which leads each of us ultimately to assume a passive role in relation to society's problems'. Alexander W. Astin, 'Competition or Cooperation?', *Change* (September/October 1979), p. 19. According to Astin the future of America's democracy rested on the capacity of Americans to be 'good team member [s] and to work cooperatively with coworkers'. Public schools should thus teach 'teamwork as a basic skill'. Astin, 'Competition or Cooperation?', pp. 12-16.

[25] The list of courses offered on pass-fail grading included, English History I & II, Medieval Culture, Ancient History I & II, Archaeology, Oceania and Southeast Asia, Geography and Cartography, Western States, Psychology I & II, Sociology, American Indian Culture, Afro-American History, People and Places, Russian History, Far East History, Current Issues, Business Law, Economic and Personal Finance, Comparative Government and Community Problems.

much competition between students . . . a grade doesn't indicate you have learned anything - it is just a symbol'.[26] Students who questioned the validity of a non-competitive grading scheme felt receiving a letter grade gave 'students incentive to work towards a goal'.[27] The generosity of the pass-fail mark ignored the fact that for some, 'learning how to profit and grow from failure might have been a better lesson than receiving an unearned passing mark'.[28]

The spirit of anti-intellectualism continued to plague Bellingham High in the early 1970s. When student Jim Tetrick commented in the *Beacon* that he thought '12 years of school is not enough,' his fellow students responded, 'a little different from everyone else's view, wouldn't you say?'[29] Students further chided Mike Mowry, saying, the 'pep boy himself . . . as you might expect,' considered high school as 'GREAT!'[30] During a survey in March 1970, freshman students expressed their disappointment with the apparent lack of academic rigour at Bellingham High. One student stated, 'I feel middle school prepared us better for high school than high school will prepare us for college'.[31] Disengagement from the seriousness of high school study was evident in many small ways in the early 1970s. In the 1970 *Shuksan* yearbook, the advisor was left to write the introductory paragraph on activities as students 'feigned ineptness, stupidity, illness, or other forms of malingering (all of which really amount to laziness) to avoid the bother of writing it'.[32] It was also notable that when a teacher was pictured in the school yearbook with a caption underneath such as, 'Social Studies/Wrestling Coach,' the instructor was

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[26] *Bellingham Beacon*, December 10, 1971.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] Hampel, *The Last Little Citadel*, p. 141.
[29] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 16, 1973.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Bellingham Beacon*, March 20, 1970.
[32] Bellingham High School, *Shuksan Yearbook*, 1970.

typically shown wearing gym clothes and standing in the school gymnasium rather than seated at their classroom desk. In the 1973 *Shuksan*, the opening 16 pages were devoted to candid photographs of students 'goofing off'; and Carole Erickson, the Junior Class Counsellor, was pictured wearing Mickey Mouse ears. When asked their thoughts on 12 years of schooling, students responded with, 'Fun, except for the learning, that can be done outside of school' and 'the first eight years are all right and a necessity, but after that it is just a re-hash'.[33]

Students at Bellingham continued to focus their attention on the social aspects of the high school experience. Although 'no one would think of missing a [football] game,' students now paid little attention to the proceedings, for as one student complained, 'They parade to the refreshment stand, not noticing the score. Four yards to go for a touchdown and everybody is looking at wallet pictures'.[34] In the *Bellingham Beacon*, the sports page all but disappeared in 1970.[35] To the administration, the importance of extra curricular activities remained unchanged. The school district noted that the trophy case was 'one of the most valued possessions of the school', and the four most important events in the school calendar year were ranked as, What-A-Sho, spring operetta, the elections of officers in May, and the distribution of the *Shuksan* yearbook.[36] In 1970, a poll revealed a considerable decline in the number of students participating in extra curricular activities at Bellingham High. Apart from athletics, only 25 percent of the freshman class, ten percent of sophomores, and no juniors and seniors at all, were involved in after-school activities and clubs during the 1969-70 school year. The survey also noted that of the senior boys,

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[33] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 16, 1973.
[34] *Bellingham Beacon*, September 25, 1969.
[35] Up until 1970, the *Bellingham Beacon* devoted a full page to sports with feature articles and pictures on the front page.
[36] *Bellingham Beacon,* October 16, 1969.

one-half held an after-school job, while one-fourth stated they got 'stoned,' and the remaining one-fourth just 'sat around' after-school.[37] Bellingham High yearbooks reveal the dwindling interest in extra curricular activities. From a high of 82 in 1960, the number of extra curricular activities offered at Bellingham High was down to 56 by 1970. Clubs and organisations either merged or ceased to operate due to low participation rates. In 1970, just four students attended the all-school Student Administration Day.[38] To help combat the wane in school spirit, a Student Activities Board was created in April 1970 in order to 'make clubs seem important'.[39] By the early 1970s, the Student Council met irregularly. Its meetings were informal and often chaotic; the only topics of discussion were issues that dealt with student rights, such as access to the vending machines during the snack break or the continuing necessity of hall passes.[40]

Bellingham High experienced little in the way of student vandalism, drug use, or juvenile crime. The majority of students passed their classes and stayed out of serious trouble. Only 240 (17 percent) failed a class in the first quarter of 1969; 31 were seniors, 49 were juniors, 70 were sophomores, and 90 were freshmen.[41] There was just one reference to vandalism and this occurred over the Christmas break in December 1969. A break-in into the counsellor's office caused $50.00 worth of damage to the door and $10.00 worth of property was stolen. It was unclear whether the vandals were high school students or members of the community, but this was a significant event to the residents of Bellingham who considered the high school as a bastion of tradition and conservatism.

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[37] *Bellingham Beacon,* March 20, 1970.
[38] The Student Administration Day was organised to offer counselling to students who wished to pursue a career in business administration.
[39] *Bellingham Beacon,* April 24, 1970.
[40] *Bellingham Beacon,* March 12, 1971.
[41] In comparison, during the 1968-69 school year, Garfield High School reported that 35 percent of students were failing at least one class. *Bellingham Beacon,* January 16, 1970.

The most pressing student issue in the early 1970s appeared to be 'conforming to non-conformity'.[42] The number of 'uniformed legions in blue jeans, long hair, ex-service jackets and parkas' walking the halls at Bellingham High were enough to 'save Rome!'[43] In a 1970 poll, 76 percent of the freshman class, 71 percent of sophomores, 61 percent of juniors, and 54 percent of seniors, stated they had not used marijuana.[44] As a 1972 graduate of Bellingham High, Judy Buchanan took part in the marijuana poll and later recalled, 'More students said yes than actually tried just to be considered cool'.[45] At one point in the mid-1970s, the principal of Bellingham High, Larry Stephan, moved his desk into the main hallway to 'keep an eye on things'.[46] Despite the relative calm, or perhaps in order to maintain it, an enormous amount of organisational energy was committed to keeping order and maintaining attendance in the early 1970s.[47]

Following the passage of the Compulsory School Attendance Laws of 1969, there was an increase in administrative and pupil service positions at Bellingham High.[48] The Laws of 1969 required an attendance enforcement officer[s] to be hired by each school district, stating, 'the attendance officer shall be vested with police powers, the authority to make

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[42] *Bellingham Beacon*, January 14, 1972.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Bellingham Beacon,* April 24, 1970.
[45] Interview with Judy Buchanan, October 6, 2000.
[46] Interview with Larry Stephan, February 12, 2001.
[47] The dropout rate remained at eight percent from 1969 to 1972, and then dropped to six percent by 1974. The attendance rate remained static at 96 to 97 percent.
[48] State of Washington, Chapter 109, Laws of 1969, *Compulsory School Attendance*. Under the Laws of 1969 all parents, guardians and 'other persons' having custody of any child between the ages of eight and eighteen were responsible for making sure the child attended school full time. As the law states, 'Proof of absence from public schools shall be prima facie evidence of a violation of this section'. *Compulsory School Attendance,* p. 821. Section 28A.27.040 of the 1969 legislation further required all teachers to 'report to the proper attendance officer all cases of truancy or incorrigibility . . . immediately after the offense or offenses have been committed'. *Compulsory School Attendance,* p. 1721. The first compulsory attendance laws of 1909 were instituted to persuade hesitant immigrants to enroll their children in school. Alan M. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society 1880-1921* (Arlington Heights, 1982), p. 124.

arrests and serve all legal processes'.[49] Any child who was not in school during the regular school day could be taken into custody 'without a warrant,' and 'habitual truants' were to be delivered 'into the hands of a juvenile probation officer'.[50] As the Attendance Laws of 1969 would indicate, good attendance was deemed vital to a student's education.[51] Consistency developed dependability, a character trait that prepared a student for 'business, personal and social life'.[52] To coincide with the opening of the Attendance Office and a full-time Counselling Office, the district hired an attendance clerk, and added two counsellors to the staff, including one Indian Counsellor.[53] By the mid-1970s, the number of employees devoted to pupil services had increased to 18; five were full-time high school counsellors, one tutor-counsellor, four teacher's aides, six special education instructors and two special education aides.[54]

To discourage tardiness, teachers at Bellingham High began in 1971 to lock the classroom doors when the bell rang. Tardy students were left out in the halls. Under the caption, 'Lost in Space', students complained that the ten minutes it took to obtain an

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[49] State of Washington, Chapter 28A.27, Laws of 1969, 1st extra session, *Compulsory School Attendance*, Section 28A.27.040, *Provisions for an Attendance Enforcement Officer*, pp. 1722-1723.
[50] In addition to the attendance officer, a sheriff, deputy sheriff, marshal, policeman or any other 'officer authorised to make arrests' could take a truant child into custody. *Ibid.*
[51] Many have argued the stringent nature of the 1969 Attendance Laws represented a significant step towards substituting quantity measures for quality in American education. By the late 1970s, the indicators typically measured excellence by types and number of courses taken, student SAT scores, dropout and attendance rates. This tendency, argues Kirst, reveals a 'militant insistence that the schools take full responsibility for students' achievement or lack of it'. Kirst, *Who Controls Our Schools?*, pp. 106-107. As Arthur Powell and his colleagues have noted, 'If schools are now judged by their holding power, any attendance problem suggests institutional failure'. Powell, *et al., The Shopping Mall High School,* p. 64. Education reformers regularly favour policies that can be quantified because as professionals, they are publicly accountable for the economic and social outcomes of schooling. Carr, *Making Sense of Education*, pp. 230-233.
[52] Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Courses and Information Catalog (Bellingham, 1979).
[53] In 1971, a New Indian Club was organised at Bellingham High School to help incoming Native American students 'keep their identity'. As the Beacon noted, 'almost all Indians at B.H.S. are active members'. *Bellingham Beacon*, November 12, 1971.
[54] In 1959, there had been three counsellors working at Bellingham High. In 1968, there were four counsellors and two special education teachers.

admittance slip from the main office was a waste of time.[55] By locking the classroom doors, students often missed the start of tests and many complained of failing to finish their exams before the class period ended. Previous to the policy change, if a student was a few seconds or minutes late, he or she was marked tardy and missed only the roll call.

To encourage students to assume more responsibility for their education, and further curb continuing truancy problems, the Bellingham School District adopted the 12-Day Attendance Policy in 1972.[56] Under the revised policy, students were 'allowed to decide whether or not they want to attend class'.[57] There was just one restriction; if a student missed 12 days of school they were automatically withdrawn from their class or classes, and required to take a study hall for the remainder of the quarter. The student was to receive no credit for either the class work or the study hall. Known as the 'drag class,' the objective of study hall was to 'increase the habit of reading', while students who chose not to read could 'sit quietly'.[58] Within a year, the 12-Day attendance rule had to be changed to alleviate the overflow in study hall. For example, on the first day of the winter quarter in 1973, 23 students were assigned to a study hall; just one month later on February 10th, there were 188 students in study hall. Juniors and seniors were not required to present an excuse if they missed class, a policy that was 'not exactly motivating students to attend their classes on a regular basis'.[59] If not in study hall, students were known to 'hang out' in the student lounge that was often 'full of students who have dropped classes'.[60] The

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[55] *Bellingham Beacon*, January 14, 1972.
[56] Educators in Bellingham believed that by placing the burden of responsibility onto students, they would respond by taking greater interest in their high school education. Bellingham School Board Minutes (Bellingham, 1972). In a 1972 survey, the rate of dropout was four percent in all five departments under study, including the English, Social Studies, Business Education, Industrial Arts, and Art Departments. Fourth and fifth period classes reported twice as many dropout as the first three class periods combined.
[57] *Bellingham Beacon*, January 14, 1972.
[58] *Bellingham Beacon*, May 21, 1982.
[59] *Bellingham Beacon*, March 20, 1974.
[60] *Ibid.*

revised attendance policy was much more stringent. Following the first truancy a student met with the attendance supervisor and written notification was sent home. The second offence resulted in a parent conference with the attendance supervisor; a third truancy resulted in suspension from school for the remainder of the quarter, with the loss of credit for that term.[61]

With the greater emphasis placed on the rights of children evident in the passage of new child abuse laws in 1968, students at Bellingham High were clearly less intimidated by adult authority. Robert Hampel attributes the general erosion of adult authority to a combination of factors including higher divorce rates,[62] drug use,[63] sexual experimentation,[64] a welcoming job market and shifting parental values.[65] Adult authority was once considered the 'principal characteristic' of the American high school.[66] However, confronted with violence, discipline problems and litigation,[67] Diane Ravitch

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[61] If within five days a parent or student did not file an appeal, the suspension would stand. Students planning to appeal were allowed to remain in school until completion of the hearing. Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Course Catalog 1974-1975 (Bellingham, 1974), p. 7.

[62] The divorce rate in the United States rose from 7.4 percent in 1950 to 19.5 percent in 1980.

[63] Between 1960 and 1973, arrests for alcohol related offenses rose 135 percent in the United States. In the 1960s and 1970s students also had greater access to chemical drugs other than alcohol.

[64] The increased availability and social acceptance of the contraceptive pill in the 1970s is argued to have alleviated the primary worry associated with sexual experimentation. The landmark *Roe v. Wade* ruling in 1973 legalised abortion. In the 1970s, instead of expelling a pregnant girl, schools set up parenting programmes and child-care centres.

[65] As Hampel argues, adolescents came to enjoy some prerogatives and experiences previously reserved for adults. Adults, on the other hand, adopted 'curiously adolescent forms of behaviour, undergoing identity crises, job changes, explorations of feelings and marital realignments'. Hampel adds, that as youths became more adult and adults more youthful, older forms of control were harder to maintain. Hampel, *The Last Little Citadel*, pp. 79-81. Modern parenting methods also meant 'more tolerance of children's impulses, fuller expression of affection, less physical punishment'. Hampel, *The Last Little Citadel*, p. 84.

[66] John L. Rury, 'Democracy's High School? Social Change and American Secondary Education in the Post-Conant Era', *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Summer 2002), p. 316. The idea of 'deschooling,' developed by Ivan Illich in 1970 was a response to the crisis of authority and the erosion of the traditional means of governing schools. As Diane Ravitch argues, Illich's free school ideology lacked mechanisms for resolving conflicts because it evaded the problem of leadership, and begged the question of who was in charge! Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade*, pp. 251-253.

[67] Several articles appeared in the *Bellingham Herald* that dealt with school lawsuits. In 1975, the trampoline was banned from use at Bellingham High following a tragic accident at neighbouring Sehome High School, which paralysed a gymnast. The school district's insurer threatened to cancel the district's policy if the trampolines were not removed. 'Trampolines banned in local schools', *Bellingham Herald*, November 21, 1975. Following the lead of the Supreme Court, Bellingham schools were asked to avoid

has argued that school officials responded to the upheavals by backing 'away from acting in loco parentis'.[68] A Greek exchange student spoke out in the *Bellingham Beacon* against 'the utter freedom of the American student . . . [who] wants to gain every dispute so he can have the title of the conqueror'.[69] Sophia Zervas spent two years studying at Bellingham High and was shocked by the audaciousness of the American student who would verbally abuse teachers and administrators in front of a 'crowd of spectators'.[70] As Zervas noted, 'American students forget their place . . . he has to know how to respect if he wants others to respect him'.[71] As Philip Cusick argues, the erosion of adult authority in the 1970s was further evident in the increasing use of 'battle metaphors' used by teachers and administrators, who often portrayed themselves as being 'on the firing line,' 'in the trenches' and 'getting shot at' by students and parents.[72]

As incivility increased, the administration responded by taking away student privileges. School assemblies, for instance, were used to 'break the everyday routine of school' and because the district found it 'impossible to attract top-notch talent', the school worked to present programmes that were 'unique'. Students performed humorous skits, a series of one act plays, a television variety type show, and an interactive play, 'Thunder on Sycamore Street,' that involved presenting two endings allowing the 'audience to choose

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Christmas programmes that contained 'excessive entanglement with religion', the programmes must 'neither advance nor inhibit religion'. Beth Erickson, 'What is a Christmas program to the court?', *Bellingham Herald*, November 27, 1975. Yet another example of the increase in litigation appeared in 1976 when a Bellingham couple sued the Bellingham School Board for requiring their daughter to wear a skirt during a school choral event. The school board upheld the decision made by the teacher, and the case was dismissed by Superior Court on the grounds it 'was not filed with the proper school officials'. 'Couple Appeals Dress Ruling by School', *Bellingham Herald*, March 4, 1976.

[68] Ravitch, *Left Back*, p. 386. As reported by Hampel, before 1969, 19 percent of all lawsuits on behalf of public school students were settled in favour of the student, this figure had increased to 48 percent between 1969 and 1978. Hampel, *The Last Little Citadel*, p. 94.

[69] *Bellingham Beacon*, November 12, 1971.

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] Cusick, *The Egalitarian Ideal*, p. 29.

which is right and which is wrong in its own mind'.[73] However, assemblies were cancelled in 1970 because students were 'acting like 3rd and 4th graders,' laughing and mimicking the performers.[74] School officials felt the disrespect was 'because of TV exposure,' for students 'now critique shows at school using the same criteria'.[75]

As the privileges of an open campus were abused, some were lost and others were restricted. In 1972, students lost their daily snack break, and the candy and pop machines were removed from the student lounge.[76] Students driving cars to school were now required to register them with the Dean of Students, as well as provide a note from home explaining why a car was needed. A permit from the attendance office was necessary if students wished to go to their cars between classes or during lunch break. Students were given explicit instruction not to drive off campus during the lunch break, unless they presented a note from home to the attendance office with a valid reason (a medical appointment, a job, or an emergency at home). Students protested the 'no driving rule,' devoting a full page in the *Bellingham Beacon* to the argument that since 'cars belong to students' they should be free to drive wherever and whenever they chose. Despite the protestations, the no-driving rule was upheld.[77] In the early 1970s, smoking was prohibited on the school grounds and within a two-block radius of the school. Students paid little attention and one student commented, 'I smoke, but when I walk into one of the bathrooms, the smell is enough to darn near kill me'.[78] To help control smoking in the

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[73] *Bellingham Beacon*, January 30, 1970, May 28, 1970, and November 14, 1969.
[74] *Bellingham Beacon,* April 24, 1970.
[75] *Bellingham Beacon,* May 28, 1970.
[76] 'School or Prison?', *Bellingham Beacon*, February 4, 1972. Mark Edmundson also likened high school to a 'prison', writing, '. . . we did sense that we'd been tossed into a decrepit penal colony, and we fought back with whatever resources came to hand. When the teachers and administrators, the turnkeys and wardens, were vulnerable, we went at them with a fury'. Edmundson, *Teacher, The One who Made the Difference*, p. 5.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] *Bellingham Beacon*, March 20, 1974.

restrooms, the Bellingham School District hired a matron, Mrs. Harmon, in 1971 who supervised the students from 9:00 am to 1:00 pm.

The school dress code was liberalised in the early 1970s, and while students were prohibited from attending school in bare feet, the revised code was otherwise virtually unrestricted. Administrators asked students to be 'clean and use good judgment,' avoiding clothing that might be considered offensive.[79] Characteristically conservative, in the midst of revising the dress code, students at Bellingham questioned, 'What is more Distracting?' - skirts, dresses, culottes, or pants. 'Being a student of the Holy Scriptures,' one student ran across a passage that he believed pertained to a 'recent major issue at school'.[80] In all seriousness, the student quoted Deuteronomy 22:5, 'The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all that do so are abominations unto the Lord thy God'.[81]

The early 1970s marked a period of intense interest in improving public education in Washington State. In 1969 alone, the Washington State Legislature passed 42 laws pertaining to the common schools. There was a corresponding shift in the goals of public education after 1972. Approved by the State Board of Education, a revised mission statement for the common schools was presented to school boards across the State of Washington, with goals that emphasised practical and realistic ideals. Each graduating high school student would:

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[79] *Bellingham Beacon,* January 16, 1970.
[80] *Bellingham Beacon,* May 28, 1970.
[81] *Ibid.*

- Know how to maintain good health,
- Understand and practice democracy,
- Recognise world problems and appreciate man's special qualities - his failures, accomplishments and aspirations,
- Possess clear values and be able to work productively with others in a variety of situations,
- Understand himself and society well enough to plan realistically for his own future,
- Know what steps to take in the immediate future to get a job or continue schooling,
- Be able to find satisfaction during his non-work time,
- Be prepared to continue learning and growing throughout his life.[82]

The corresponding goals of the school staff were to:

- Respect each student and help each learn in the best way possible.
- Provide each student with opportunities to make decisions and gain a feeling of success.
- Stress the contributions of all peoples.
- Extend learning beyond the school and involve the entire community in the process of education.[83]

To realise these educational goals, Bellingham High School initiated a number of curriculum changes in 1973. To individualise the high school programme, the graduation requirements were changed to add greater weight to elective coursework. After 1973, students at Bellingham were required to complete 37.5 percent of their classes in academic

[82] State of Washington, Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Annual Report* (Olympia, 1973), p. 48.
[83] *Ibid.*

subjects, 14.5 in physical, health, and occupational education, and fully 48 percent of the overall required credits were to be fulfilled by work in elective classes. The number of credits required for high school graduation was increased to 48.[84] The staff assignments at Bellingham High also reflect the change in subject emphasis. From a high of 57 percent in 1967, the number of qualified teachers that were devoted to teaching in the academic subject areas dropped to 45 percent in 1973.

After 1973, a new Arithmetic Graduation Requirement was instituted at Bellingham High, 'so that the school will be sure when you graduate, you have knowledge enough to accomplish everyday occurrences such as paying bills, writing checks, and filling out income tax forms'.[85] Although the test was considered 'basically simple', because many students had attended only two quarters of mathematics (and those in their freshman year), seniors were advised to refresh their memories before taking the exam.[86] Students sat the exam in October; the retake was scheduled in January. Failure to pass at the second attempt meant a student was automatically enrolled in a spring quarter computational skills class. The test involved five sections, including whole numbers (addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division), fractions, decimals, percentages, and 'VERY SIMPLE story problems'.[87] In the first year of mandatory testing, a mere 28 percent of Bellingham High seniors passed the test first time. Following the poor examination results, the administration scrambled to add extra math courses for failing seniors. Five skill-building classes were added to the curriculum in the mid-1970s including,

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[84] Bellingham High's decision to increase elective coursework reflects the State Board of Education's revised mission statement, which called for greater emphasis on practical and realistic ideals. *Ibid.*
[85] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 16, 1973.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] *Ibid.*

Fundamental Preparatory Mathematics, Basic Mathematics, Practical Mathematics, Arithmetic Maintenance, and Computational Skills.

The plan to individualise the general high school programme at Bellingham included a first-floor remodelling project to accommodate a Learning Resource Center. The Resource Center was established in 1971 to allow individualised instruction for students taking advanced reading, reading seminar, and remedial reading classes. The centre was primarily staffed with special education teachers and their assistants. The centre was also to be used by students as a study hall for independent learning. The Resource Center was built adjacent to the school library and was designed to 'simulate the living room affect [sic]' which allowed students to sit 'all over,' thereby providing a more 'relaxed and comfortable atmosphere' in which to study. Following a brief period of introduction, use of the resource centre was expanded to include individual assistance in any subject area.

The expanded educational goals outlined by the State after 1969 resulted in a dramatic expansion of the curriculum at Bellingham High. Arthur Powell and his colleagues have pointed out 'student diversity' led to 'curriculum diversity' in the American high school.[88] As universal attendance and near universal graduation rates were achieved, the process of accommodation became particularly important.[89] By the fall of 1974, there were 295 courses offered at Bellingham High, compared to just 86 in 1958. In reaction against tracking, Bellingham High instituted the open elective system in 1974. Students were assigned just one or two classes each quarter and then left to fill in their own schedule with

[88] Powell, *et al., Shopping Mall High School*, p. 3.
[89] By 1970, 76.9 percent of America's youth were high school graduates. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, Thomas D. Snyder, ed., *120 years of American Education: A Statistical Report* (Washington, D.C., 1993). Bellingham High boasted a graduation rate of between 94 and 96 percent in the early to mid-1970s.

elective class work. According to the administration, this forced students to take more responsibility for their education, with freedom to choose from a multitude of courses now available. Between 1958 and 1973, the greatest increase occurred in the sciences, social studies, English, mathematics, and foreign language departments. The English Department at Bellingham High for example, offered students 11 classes in 1958, but 46 by 1974.[90] The percentage of elective classes available in the English Department jumped from .05 percent in 1967 to 20 percent in 1970. Elective coursework in Social Studies increased from .06 percent in 1967 to 28 percent in 1970.

Under the open elective system, many students took sole responsibility for planning most of their secondary school education.[91] The counsellor-student ratio at Bellingham High was between 425:1 in 1967, and 237:1 in 1981. Counsellors became regarded as 'schedule-arrangers, education-mappers, or surrogate mothers and fathers'.[92] Given this counsellor-student ratio, it is not surprising that students complained, 'we don't get the help we need . . . they are either not in or too busy'.[93] A graduate of Bellingham High

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[90] Between 1958 and 1973, the increased availability of classes broke down as follows: In 1958, Bellingham High offered eight classes in music, 11 in English, five in science, eight in mathematics, seven in social studies, seven in foreign language, 12 in vocational, 11 in business education, eight in homemaking, two in physical education, giving a total of 79 classes. In 1974, there were ten classes in Music, 46 in English, 31 in science, 29 in mathematics, 33 in social studies, 35 in foreign language, 13 in vocational, 16 in business education, 12 in homemaking, 16 in Interdepartmental, 5 in office duty, and 49 in physical education. Sedlak and his colleagues observed that elective coursework, particularly in English, tended to 'minimize or curtail the opportunity for students to hone their composition skills', because 'most specialized classes were devoted almost exclusively to reading and discussing narrow bodies of literature'. Sedlak, *et al., Selling Students Short*, p. 42.

[91] To help choose their electives, the Educational Fair was intended to give students the opportunity of sampling a variety of classes during the regular school day. The daily class schedule was abandoned and students were able to attend any class of their choosing, for as long as they wished. Responsibility for discipline and attendance rested with the students. Students quickly took advantage of the freedom with over 59 percent of the student body coming to school and being marked present during roll call, but then skipping class. *Bellingham Beacon*, November 12, 1971.

[92] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 16, 1980.

[93] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 16, 1973. According to Conant an effective counselling system needed to employ one full-time counsellor for every 250-300 high school students.

later recalled, 'The squeaky wheel received all the attention'.[94] Unless a student was considered a 'troublemaker,' they received little guidance.[95]

By offering a 'smorgasbord of unrelated courses',[96] that is, classes that needed no prerequisites or were non-sequential in nature, the elective system contributed to the general fragmentation of the high school programme. Often the only prerequisite noted was 'motivation and willingness to work'.[97] From the mid-1970s on, it was common to find ninth through twelfth grade students in one class. For example, as the number of students registering for upper division foreign language classes declined, it became necessary to combine all levels into one class. When the number of advanced students only numbered five or six in a class of 27, teachers were forced to 'teach to the majority'.[98] This left the upper division students to follow an independent study programme. The advanced students were supplied with foreign language tapes, designed to provide practice in language comprehension, but many advanced students noted this 'was both boring and discouraging'.[99] Through the elective system, the American high school offered students an abundance of opportunity and curricula and yet, as Theodore Sizer has argued, most 'kids sample this and that' and became 'informed about many things but unable to make much use of anything'.[100]

The elective system also gave students the opportunity to repeat an elective class and receive credit. Students could, for instance, take classes in Computer Concepts,

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[94] Interview with Judy Buchanan, October 6, 2000.
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] This phrase was used by Paul Copperman, *The Literary Hoax* (New York, 1978), p. 75.
[97] Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Course Description Catalog (Bellingham, 1972).
[98] *Bellingham Beacon*, May 6, 1977.
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] Sizer, *Horace's School,* p. 105.

Keypunch, or Cafeteria Assistant for four years and receive elective credits. Given the chance to repeat, these classes were considered an 'easy A'.[101] By design, the open elective system enabled students to avoid rigorous work, which further contributed to grade inflation at Bellingham High. Students noted the pros and cons of electives; on the positive side electives 'break up a very dull day,' they 'help keep our minds sharp by keeping us interested in school,' and 'electives are easy'.[102] On the other hand, as one student noted, by offering an abundance of elective classes, a great deal of 'money and time' was occupied by elective courses that 'could be much more effectively used in other areas of the education process'.[103]

Given the opportunity to select the majority of their classes, students had an indirect influence over the curriculum by virtue of their choices, or lack thereof. Classes and teachers became subject to scrutiny, as students were able to 'pick' the popular class or 'easy' teacher. According to Paul Copperman, 'A high school administration that permits some teachers to grade easier than others, and also permits students to choose their teachers, puts an irresistible pressure on the rest of the faculty to relax their grading standards'.[104] In the mid-1970s, the counsellor's office at Bellingham High was 'flooded' with class transfer requests, with student comments including, 'I understand him better,' and 'I don't like Mr./Mrs. . .'.[105] Counsellors at Bellingham 'did their best' to accommodate all student requests. The 'good for kids' phrase that was popular in the

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[101] The research of Michael Sedlak and his colleagues also found electives to be 'easier' than other high school coursework. Sedlak, *et al.*, *Selling Students Short*, p. 43.
[102] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 16, 1980.
[103] *Ibid.* Because of the expanded staff responsibility and teacher specialisation involved, the proliferation of electives placed greater strain on the financial and personnel resources of the Bellingham School District. As was typical of most school districts in the United States, between 81.34 and 82.61 percent of the Bellingham School District's budget was spent on teacher salaries in the early to mid-1970s.
[104] Copperman, *The Literary Hoax*, p. 106.
[105] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 25, 1974.

1970s seemed to mean a combination of 'students getting what they signed up for (it did not matter what) and the teacher putting some emotion and energy into his classes'.[106]

After the passage of the School Instructional Materials Act in 1967, school districts were required to appoint an Instructional Materials Committee (IMC) to review and approve purchase of all instructional supplies that were to be used in the public schools. The law stated that school districts were not permitted to pay for materials not approved by the IMC.[107] Teachers wishing to use a guest lecturer, film, newspaper or outside text, were allowed to do so at their own discretion contingent upon the knowledge and consent of the school principal. Faculty who intended to use any materials that might be considered controversial, were advised to submit a special request form that waived their right to expect administrative support should a dispute arise. In 1970, the librarian at Bellingham High was instructed to make a survey of books requested by teachers. The librarian was to then submit the survey to the School Board who felt that when it came to the selection of classroom materials, 'teachers were taking matters into their own hands a little too much'.[108] Despite the restrictions imposed by the IMC, neither teachers nor administrators questioned the loss of academic freedom.

The Instructional Materials Committee consisted of two elementary, two middle school, and two high school faculty members including two assistant superintendents. Each member was to serve for a period of three years.[109] Student interest was given 'top

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[106] Cusick, *The Egalitarian Ideal*, p. 70.
[107] State of Washington, Laws of 1967, extraordinary session, Chapter 29, *School Instructional Materials* (Olympia, 1967), p. 1564. The Bellingham School District Instructional Materials Committee first convened in May 1968.
[108] Bellingham School District, Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, March 14, 1970.
[109] According to Andrew Coulson, no 'particular expertise' was required to sit on most states' instructional materials selection committee. Coulson, *Market Education,* p. 174.

priority' by the IMC, as was the appropriate reading level.[110] The list of criteria for material selection included; 'motivation for learning (using illustrations); materials were to present basic information, inspiration and concepts 'with a minimum of extraneous materials included', and 'command attention' of the reader.[111] As the IMC's criteria indicate, the emphasis was placed on the psychological impact of a text. As the IMC noted, 'The work of this committee (IMC) is extremely important since it so directly relates to the instructional program of the district', and by the late 1970s a 'curriculum facilitator' had even replaced the department chair.[112]

Instructional Materials Committee files for the 1970s suggest that finding 'nothing objectionable' appeared to be the most important criterion for textbook approval. Another primary factor in the selection of textbooks was their chance of holding the readers' attention. The former assistant director of the National Education Association addressed the Bellingham IMC in December 1974. The theme of the meeting was 'Why Kid Ourselves?' As the speaker noted, 'Young Americans nourished by *Playboy* and *Hair* will not settle for a strict diet of *Silas Marner* and *The Hardy Boys*. It does little good to discuss *Little Women* if a student has just finished devouring *Portnoy's Complaint*, which his mother left on the coffee table'.[113] The implication is that students in the 1970s had reached a level of maturity and sophistication that was unsuited to 'old fashioned' reading materials. To motivate interest in learning, the IMC chose instructional materials that were amply illustrated with photographs, diagrams and cartoons; colour was preferred as 'black and white pictures have less eye appeal'.[114] As the IMC noted, '. . . associating

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[110] Bellingham School District, Instructional Materials Policy Manual (Bellingham, 1970), p. 2.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Bellingham School District, Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, September 12, 1978.
[113] Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, December 18, 1974.
[114] Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, May 27, 1980.

pictures and words really simplified learning'.[115] The IMC evaluated *Chemistry, Matter and the Universe*, a textbook submitted for use as a collateral text for teaching Chemistry I, II, and III. In part, the evaluator noted,

> The book's big 'plus' is its use of visual tools to help explain difficult concepts . . . This book also has a decided 'plus' in that it applies chemistry to certain contemporary problems and science frontiers . . . the humor, anecdotes, and cartoons would certainly appeal to the high school student.[116]

Given the evaluation and a teacher recommendation, *Chemistry, Matter and the Universe* was adopted in 1976, and utilised in chemistry classes from the beginning to the advanced level of study. Not all teachers were comfortable with this trend in textbook adoptions. When evaluating *Action Chemistry*, a textbook intended for use in the Fundamental Chemistry class, a science teacher at Bellingham commented, 'I have some doubts about the effect upon students of the cartoon presentation'.[117] Nonetheless, the text was adopted for use at the junior and senior level at Bellingham High.

When selecting instructional materials, the IMC gave preference to textbooks that were clearly organised, used section, column, and paragraph headings, and incorporated a study guide, correction sheets and self-help section for student reference. The IMC also looked for textbooks that presented the material using short sections with layout including a larger print size, a variation in typeface, as well as the use of italicised key words. The degree to which a textbook utilised case studies, role-playing, and other exercises that would develop inductive discovery or promote student involvement was also taken into

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[115] Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, February 26, 1980.
[116] Bellingham School District, Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, November 1, 1976.
[117] Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, High School Textbooks and Instructional Materials Evaluation Form, April 28, 1977.

consideration during the evaluation process. The readability level was also important, and a text that was rated easy on the readability scale was consistently chosen over more challenging material. When requesting a textbook adoption for the Rights and Responsibility class at Bellingham High, the chairman of the Social Studies Department noted,

> The reading level of the text is definitely higher than 9th grade, and the print is smaller than we would have preferred. However, because this class is a Senior level course, given to students who in every case are only a few months or weeks from the adult world, we feel that the other qualities of the book overcome those possible deficiencies.[118]

Following this recommendation, *American Political Behavior: Book Two* was selected for use at Bellingham High. However, challenging textbooks were believed to be discouraging to the average student. Whilst some students progressed through the reading with ease, others struggled to keep up or fell behind. As Andrew Coulson argues, a number of solutions to this problem 'could have been adopted' namely, grouping students by achievement level rather than age, 'Instead, all textbooks were simplified to the level of the slowest student'.[119] The IMC rejected the use of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, because they considered the book 'too controversial and too difficult' for junior and seniors to read.[120] According to Michael Kirst's study, the examined high school texts

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[118] Bellingham School District, Letter to the Instructional Materials Committee, from Robert G. Safsten, Chairman of the Bellingham High School Social Studies Department, May 13, 1974.
[119] Coulson, *Market Education,* p. 170. Michael Kirst argues that publishers felt a slightly easier book, one that was written below grade level, would reach a broader market thereby increasing sales. On the other hand, faced with financial constraints in the 1970s, schools chose to buy books that would cover a broader range of students. Kirst, *Who Controls Our Schools?,* p. 120.
[120] Bellingham School District, Instructional Materials Committee Minutes (Bellingham, 1981). The IMC had approved Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* for use in Bellingham's science fiction elective course however, following a public meeting the committee pulled the book from the school's reading list because members of the community felt the book 'was too difficult' and 'lacked a moral standard', containing 'too

were 'dull, drained of excitement and diluted in content'.[121] The district's penchant to appease gave students indirect influence over the academic standard at Bellingham High. Under the IMC rules, a poorly motivated student could plateau; the fast learner could become bored by the classroom exercises.

The drive to make the curriculum immediate and relevant caused the IMC to purchase large quantities of instructional materials each year. Officially, a text was to remain in use for no longer than five years.[122] However, in 1971 the English Department at Bellingham planned 'different reading materials . . . for each quarter'.[123] The IMC files show that the expanded curriculum at Bellingham High placed increasing demands on the school district's fiscal budget throughout the 1970s.

A review of the course catalogue and enrolment sheets in the early to mid-1970s reveals a dramatic expansion in basic courses, introductory, surveys, fundamental and remedial courses. In the English Department, classes that focused on improving reading skills increased from .06 percent in 1967, to 18 percent in 1970, to 20 percent by 1978. Classes on the fundamentals of mathematics increased from 18 percent of the total offered by the Mathematics Department in 1970 to 38 percent by 1974. The Science Department contributed most to the number of survey classes, which increased from 15 percent to 59 percent between 1967 and 1970. For example, the Introduction to Physical Science I and II classes were open to freshmen and sophomores, and to juniors and seniors who had not

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many innuendos of sexual abuse'. Linda Twitchell, 'Novel "Brave New World" Drawing Fire at Meridian', *The Bellingham Herald*, March 12, 1980.

[121] Kirst, *Who Controls Our Schools?*, p. 118.

[122] When selecting course materials, district committees tend to eliminate from consideration any textbook more than three years old, a requirement that has been argued to contribute to 'high textbook prices and the superficial nature of changes from one edition to the next'. Kirst, 'Who Controls Our Schools?', p. 175.

[123] *Bellingham Beacon*, November 23, 1971.

taken a physical science course previously. In order to successfully complete the class, students were required to be able to 'easily read at least sixth grade material; to do simple multiplication and division; and to follow simple verbal and written instructions'.[124]

In addition to the expansion of survey and fundamental classes, all coursework was to be adapted to the individual student. The opening paragraph of the 1972-73 Course Catalogue stated, 'In the required subjects, English and social studies, an attempt has been made to meet the needs of all students including those who have reading difficulties and need special help in basic fundamentals'.[125] Textbook evaluations show that the Bellingham School District and the staff at Bellingham High catered to the low-end performer. *Life on Paradise Island* was recommended in 1973 as a supplementary text for use in the tenth grade social studies classes: 'the reading level' it was noted 'is low enough to be comprehensible to nearly all students. The writing is also fun, and it will not bore the brighter students'.[126] And for General Physics, Harlan Jackson, chairman of the IMC in 1971, stated, 'It is our intention to have materials that will appeal to a wider spectrum of our students and not be as theoretical in their application to physics'.[127]

As the curriculum expanded in the early 1970s, so did the availability of pre-vocational and work experience courses at Bellingham High. The expansion of vocational coursework was a response to the passage of the Comprehensive Employment and

[124] Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Course Description Catalog (Bellingham, 1972).
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] Bellingham School District, Recommendation for Adoption of the Supplementary Text, *Life on Paradise Island*, Debbie Granger, Bellingham High School, Social Studies Department, 1973.
[127] Bellingham School District, Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, November 10, 1971.

Training Act of 1973 and the Vocational Education Amendment of 1968.[128] Their purpose was to authorise Federal grants to maintain, extend and improve existing programmes of vocational education in the state's public high schools. The grants illustrated the penchant for utility, ambivalence towards 'book learning' and preoccupation with individual success, which resurfaced during the recession era of the 1970s.[129] The emphasis on the utilitarian function of the public high school reflected the demands of the 1970s 'careerist student' and the 'career education' policy of the Nixon administration.[130] Viewed by the Bellingham administration as crucial means to keep some students from dropping out, classes such as Nursing Home Recreation, Introduction to Retail Business, and Computer Keyboarding were added to the curriculum in the mid-1970s.[131] Students also worked in the high school as office clerks, office assistants, library assistants, audio-visual assistants, cafeteria assistants, supervision assistants, work experience and yearbook. Each of these jobs was defined as a credit class, which allowed students to earn a letter grade.

Despite the immediate need for 'learning to earn' in the 1970s, Grubb and Lazerson have argued that this sort of instrumental schooling undermined the moral and cultural

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[128] State of Washington, Public Law 93-203, *Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973* (Olympia, 1973), p. 839; State of Washington, Public Law 90-576, *Vocational Education Amendment of 1968* (Olympia, 1968), p. 1058.

[129] Lawrence A. Cremin, *Popular Education and Its Discontents* (New York, 1990), p. 37. According to Kirst, as a consequence of effective lobbying, the vocational and physical education curriculum received more focus and funding during the 1970s. Vocational coursework represented as much as 24 percent of the curriculum in many American high schools. Kirst, *Who Controls Our Schools?*, pp. 54-55.

[130] Cremin, *Popular Education and Its Discontents*, p. 19; Schor, *Culture Wars*, pp. 30-51.

[131] Bellingham introduced the Junior Achievement Program in the early 1970s. Students were able to earn one high school credit per quarter as part of the Junior Achievement Program. The programme met twice a week on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings from 7:00 pm until 9:00 pm. As part of the curriculum students formed a mock corporation, sold stock, and then readied to sell the product. In 1971, 100 Bellingham High students attended the programme.

values once associated with education.[132] The increased emphasis on vocational education encouraged student apathy and disengagement, for if students have long been told they must 'learn to get ahead', then during recession years such as the 1970s, 'if there is nothing ahead, why learn?'[133] Indeed, the nature of occupational change in the 1970s is argued by many researchers to have further undercut motivation for school learning, since graduating seniors could expect only low-paying, part-time service sector jobs requiring modest skills with almost no promotion opportunities.[134]

To widen the variety of vocational programmes, Bellingham High worked closely with the Bellingham Technical School to coordinate the school schedules and curriculum choices, establishing a four-year plan for Business Education majors. Once registered, most of a student's schedule was predetermined according to their vocational interest. A student registered in the Secretarial Training course would take General Business and Computer Concepts in grade nine; Basic Typing, Typing I and II, Shorthand, I, II, III and Advanced Typing in grade ten; Shorthand IV and V, Office Machines, Business Mathematics, Typing IV and Advanced Typing in grade eleven; and finally, Business English, Clerical Office Practice, Business Law, Economics and Personal Finance and Advanced Typing in their senior year. In addition, students were required to complete the general graduation requirements, however, they were permitted to substitute Business

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[132]Grubb and Lazerson, *Broken Promises,* p. 136. The vocationally orientated school, Grubb and Lazerson also argue intensifies class stratification, an outcome that conflicts with the inherent 'promise of universality', of the American school system. Grubb and Lazerson, *Broken Promises*, p. 130.

[133] Sizer, *Horace's School,* p. 58.

[134] Among others, this topic is discussed by Lawrence Cremin in *Popular Education and Its Discontents,* Michael Sedlak and his colleagues in *Selling Students Short,* and David Tyack and Larry Cuban in *Tinkering Toward Utopia.* The demand for relatively unskilled workers, jobs such as janitors, nurse's aide and fast food workers, increased in the 1970s. According to Grubb and Lazerson, the increased 'earnings advantage' to receiving a college education still served as an incentive for many to attend college in the 1970s. As reported by Grubb and Lazerson, in 1954, the earnings advantage of a college graduate over the average worker was ten percent; by 1958 the gap had widened to 19 percent, and by 1966 the figure was 25 percent. As the authors note, 'With high returns, the incentive to attend college led to the expansion of the state systems of high education . . .'. Grubb and Lazerson, *Broken Promises*, p. 136.

English for the senior year language arts class. As the schedule indicates, business education majors were given little time to explore other areas of the high school curriculum.[135]

To engage student interest, administrators at Bellingham High tailored the curriculum to address current social concerns and issues. Classes in sociology, psychology, environmental studies and health education all multiplied. As part of the science curriculum, for instance, students were required to dissect a pig's lung to help dramatise the fragility of lungs and the dangers of smoking. Administrators viewed the exercise as a way of making the 'Matter of Life and Breath' television slogan 'more than just a phrase students heard'.[136] As part of the home economics curriculum, students read a text entitled *Why Wait till Marriage,* which educators hoped, would have an impact on the prevalence of premarital sex and rising rates of teen pregnancy.[137] This emphasis upon utility in the 1970s curriculum demonstrates once again the long held notion that public schools are a 'panacea for all of society's problems'.[138]

Relevance was also a key determinant in the selection of textbooks and instructional materials. Administrators at Bellingham tried to reach the student by personalising the curriculum. In the 1970s, heavy emphasis was placed upon individual well being, both materially, as taught in social studies, economic, law, health and home economic classes, and emotionally as emphasised in the English classes. Priority was given to educational

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[135] Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Course Catalog (Bellingham, 1972), p. 8.
[136] Bellingham School District, Bellingham School Board Minutes, January 19, 1976.
[137] Between 1960 and 1975, the number of annual births to unmarried teenagers, 16 to 19 years of age increased from 87,000 to 222,500.
[138] Perkinson, *The Imperfect Panacea,* p. 153. Perkinson further argues that the notion that schools serve as a panacea for society's ailments 'carries with it the assumption that people are the root of every social problem: they have to be changed; never the existing arrangements, never the system'. *Ibid.*

materials that were directly pertinent to a student's future. For high school science, the school district purchased a film entitled *Getting a Better Buy in a Used Car*, while the economics text, *The Consumer in America* was noted to be 'skimpy on basic economics (19 pages) but heavy on practical consumer information (395 pages)'.[139] The text *Consumer and Career Math*, was evaluated by a mathematics teacher at Bellingham who commented, 'I like the references throughout the book to using the math involved in various careers . . . too often we get the question, How will I ever use this?'[140] On the other hand, in 1972, the English Department responded imaginatively to the demand for relevance by adopting a book of readings entitled, *Four Hemispheres*, an anthology of short stories from around the world, categorised into Growing up, In Love, Living and Dying. Textbook adoptions for the English Department in 1973 included, *The Search for Personal Freedom, 20th Century Fiction: Authority and Self Discovery*, and *Currents,* a text that dealt with America's dreams, problems and possibilities.

Books approved for the school library also show the relativistic and pragmatic nature of the curriculum. On March 14, 1970, the IMC approved the following books: *The Black Athlete, The Impossible Revolution, The Seekers, Radicalism in America, White over Black, Tobacco and Your Health* and *Drugs and Young People.*[141] Again, in these titles the idea of the public school as a panacea for American ills is evident. On February 26, 1974, the IMC approved for purchase the following list of books: *Case for Compulsory Birth Control, Racism, Facts about VD, Love and Sex in Plain Language, If I Love You, Am I*

[139] Bellingham School District, Textbook Evaluation Form, *The Consumer in America*, February 14, 1979.
[140] Bellingham School District, Instructional Materials Committee, Evaluation Form for High School Textbooks and Instructional Materials, November 21, 1978.
[141] Bellingham School District, Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, March 14, 1970.

Trapped Forever?, Me, the Flunkie, VD the Silent Epidemic.[142] Indeed, each of these texts address an issue that was of current concern to Americans in the 1970s.

Even nominally academic classes at Bellingham High took on a distinctly non-academic tenor with some of the texts used. For example, an upper division science class in aeronautics utilised the *Private Pilot's Handbook*[143] as the classroom text; *Banking and Living on Your Own*[144] was adopted for an advanced course in economics; and for an elective high school social studies course, *Street Law* was noted to be a 'little book' with chapters that dealt with housing laws, renting a home and the duties of a tenant.[145] But whereas it could be argued in these cases that the books actually contained much relevant technical information, it is hard to see any justification for a college preparatory class at Bellingham reading a children's abridged version of the *Iliad and the Odyssey*.

The Vocational Department developed the use of 'service learning' as a vehicle for personal growth and community service. Administrators hoped that the community service programme would help counterbalance the civic apathy that was becoming more evident in the school in the early to mid-1970s. During this period, the majority of feature articles in the *Bellingham Beacon* resembled personal diaries with titles such as 'A Trip to the Dentist, Life or Death' and 'Diary of a Mad Student'. The service-learning programme emphasised the practice of citizenship, the ethic of service, the reduction of alienation, and the building of self-esteem, social interest and interpersonal competencies. Community service was also introduced to help students develop empathy. However, the impact of the programme remained questionable. 'After one year the students who

[142] Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, February 26, 1974.
[143] Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, April 24, 1973.
[144] Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, May 27, 1975.
[145] Bellingham School District, Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, June 9, 1978.

participated in a service-learning programme did not show scores of significant differences in their opinion of community service, social responsibility, social tolerance, and school climate'.[146]

Growing cynicism during the Vietnam War motivated school administrators to introduce a Rights and Responsibilities class as part of the graduation requirements in 1968. The course was open to seniors and designed to give students a practical understanding of their 'rights and responsibilities as an American citizen'.[147] Emphasis was placed on developing an understanding of the American political process using a 'multi-text paperback approach, periodical articles, paragraphs, case studies, recordings, guest speakers, films and the Constitution'.[148] Emphasis was placed on political, economic and social problems, based on an understanding of local, state and national constitutions. The effectiveness of the Rights and Responsibilities class was also debatable. The National Assessment of Educational Progress conducted a study of the changes in political knowledge and attitudes between 1969 and 1976. The National Assessment interviewed and tested more than 630,000 young Americans on their constitutional rights, the structure and function of the U.S. government, the political process, and general respect for others. The findings reveal serious declines. In 1976, the recognition and value of constitutional rights declined two percentage points from 1969; awareness of the structure and function of the government declined approximately five percentage points from 1969, knowledge of the political process declined four to six

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[146] Julee Pitalo, 'Service-Learning and Citizenship: Assessing Students' Attitudes and Citizenship Skills' (unpublished Master of Education Thesis, Western Washington University, 1996), p. iv. Pitalo's investigation sought to determine the effect of service learning on the citizenship skills of high school students in the Bellingham School District.

[147] Bellingham School District, Bellingham High School Course Description Catalog (Bellingham, 1972), p. 40.

[148] *Ibid.*

percentage points, and respect for others dropped eight to nine percentage points between 1969 and 1976.[149] These are extraordinary results given that they bracket the Watergate years. They also raise serious questions as to whether civic awareness could be taught in school.

The three-quarter schedule, individualised study, and the student rights movement stimulated new methods of instruction and classroom procedures in the early 1970s. The tenor of the classroom shifted from rote knowledge to a discussion based curriculum. In the classroom, students were encouraged to 'speak out on anything that was on their mind'.[150] As a result, class lectures were often disrupted by irrelevant conversations. To promote discussion, desks were often arranged in a circle with students facing one another; the teacher would stand in the middle of the circle and serve as a facilitator, prompting the discussion if momentum waned. By focusing on the flow of dialogue, progress through the required coursework was often impeded. As one student observed, 'Teachers are constantly gabbing on and on in the class about absolutely nothing then in the last 30 seconds manage to dish out a completely huge assignment'.[151] The discussion-based curriculum epitomised the method of instruction that was introduced at Bellingham High in the early 1970s. As Cusick argues, the student centred classroom placed greater emphasis on 'relating to students' rather than teaching students.[152] As Cusick writes, 'no one disobeyed a direction that was never given, no one failed to hand in an assignment that was never assigned, no one flunked a test when there were none, and no student-teacher

[149] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Education Division, National Center for Education Statistics, Changes in Political Knowledge and Attitudes, 1969-76, *Selected Results from the Second National Assessments of Citizenship and Social Studies* (Denver, 1978), pp.17-42.
[150] *Bellingham Beacon*, November 14, 1969.
[151] *Bellingham Beacon,* March 27, 1972.
[152] Cusick, *The Egalitarian Ideal,* pp. 54-55.

conflicts, fights, or cases of insubordination showed up in the office'.[153] The preoccupation with maintaining 'quiet classes' and relating well with students undermined a teacher's ability to work systematically through the course material.[154] One consequence of the unstructured class environment was observed by an astute student who stated, 'My teacher in a burst of intellectual insight grunts . . . read pages 471-489, you'll have a quiz tomorrow'.[155]

To engage the unmotivated student, Bellingham experimented with a number of innovative teaching methods in the 1970s, including team teaching in 1975. Teachers were assigned in tandem in order to offer more one-on-one instruction in the classroom. The foreign language class that was team-taught by Miss Waldron, Mrs. Chesterley, and Mrs. Van-Zanten, had no requirements and was open to all students regardless of grade level or proficiency. Due to declining enrolment in the regular foreign language classes, the administration chose to combine the introductory level courses and present them together. The class included sections on Spanish, German and French, and every four weeks there was a change of teacher 'so there is no boredom allowed'.[156] The purpose of the class was to give students an introduction to a variety of foreign languages and 'one highlight of the course,' at the end of the quarter teachers would introduce a special segment on Vietnamese.[157] As the 1970s progressed, team teaching evolved into 'turn teaching' as it became common for instructors to teach a class on alternate days. In

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[153] Cusick, *The Egalitarian Ideal*, p. 55.
[154] *Ibid.*
[155] *Bellingham Beacon*, October, 1975. Cusick also observed the 'time-killing' devices where teachers 'walked around the room and engaged in random bits of small talk, about a piece of apparel, a sporting event, or a mutual acquaintance'. Cusick, *The Egalitarian Ideal*, p. 55.
[156] *Bellingham Beacon*, June 3, 1975.
[157] *Ibid.*

practice, turn teaching hindered continuity by disrupting class progress through the required course materials.[158]

Bellingham School District officials believed students learned best in situations that were nonverbal, concrete, and kinaesthetic.[159] Hence, Bellingham High expanded the use of films, field trips, games, think sheets, drills, workbooks, kits and multi-text paperbacks as part of the curriculum. For instance, the German language class visited a German sausage factory in Vancouver, British Columbia; the Rights and Responsibility class toured the Georgia Pacific plant to observe logs being debarked by high-pressure water, and visited the chemical research lab.[160] Sixty mathematic students spent the day at the Shell Oil Refinery in Anacortes, Washington, on May 6, 1970; and a sociology class toured Seattle 'to observe first hand the various life styles of the city'.[161] The faculty and staff viewed field trips as a refreshing break from the monotony of the regular school schedule, hence many of the class trips were unrelated to the course curriculum.[162]

Filmstrips were recommended for use in all subject areas, including foreign languages, drama, mathematics and social studies. The Instructional Materials Committee submitted a list of films for purchase and use in the Physical Education Department, a list that included titles such as *Complete Golf Instruction Movies* and *Women's Power Volleyball.*[163] The Social Studies Department was noted to have an 'extensive collection of films' including: *The Globe, Using the Globe, Flat Maps of a Round Globe, Maps for*

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[158] Martin L. Gross, 'Automated Education Ranks High Among U.S. Failures', *The Seattle Times*, February 23, 1969.
[159] Bellingham School District, Policy Manual (Bellingham, 1968).
[160] *Bellingham Beacon*, March 27, 1972.
[161] *Bellingham Beacon,* May 28, 1971.
[162] *Bellingham Beacon*, February 20, 1976.
[163] Bellingham School District, Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, March 31, 1976.

the Air Age, Maps Through the Ages, and a complete series of architectural films covering the Roman, early Christian, Renaissance, seventeenth and eighteenth-century periods.[164] In humanities classes, students watched a series of films on the rise of Greek tragedy; *Sophocles, Oedipus and the King,* rather than read a text. In language arts, the department adopted the film *The Aeneid.* However, Shakespearean films were not needed 'as they are presented frequently on television'.[165] The audio-visual department also furnished flashcards for use in Bellingham's mathematics classes; the Science Department received a step-by-step series of embryological development slides.[166] To individualise the curriculum, the use of textbooks was curtailed in the mid 1970s, and the class curricula often included no plans to use a text. Hence, there was increased reliance on pamphlets, periodical articles, guest speakers, tapes, filmstrips, and worksheets with multiple-choice, true-false, 'matching' and 'missing word' questions.

What came to dominate the high school experience between 1969 and 1983 was the 'phenomenon of interruptions'.[167] Whereas Bellingham students had over five hours in one class per week, a German exchange student observed in the *Bellingham Beacon,* 'German students have just 2 hours in one class per week and learn more'.[168] The answer is evident once the school schedule and ethos is examined. Classes were dismissed early for pep, national, class, and interchange assemblies, teacher in-service days and special events. Assemblies were reinstated in the school schedule in 1971, an hour in length, and held once or twice a week. Seating was now assigned, a tactic that was designed to help teachers and administrators identify those students who had either skipped or were causing

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[164] Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, November 27, 1967.
[165] Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, May 27, 1968.
[166] Instructional Materials Committee Minutes, October 27, 1970.
[167] This phrase was used by Sedlak, *et al., Selling Students Short*, p. 166.
[168] *Bellingham Beacon*, November 22, 1977

a disruption. Beginning in 1975, students from Bellingham High organised interchange assemblies at Sehome High School, and vice-versa. Interchange assembly rehearsals were held during the regular school day, causing disruption to the flow of class work. The logistics of transporting students the 3.5 miles to Sehome added to the difficulties. An endless number of public address announcements, the withdrawal of students for special assignments or tutoring, and the scheduling of non-academic activities during the school day further interrupted classes. Students were, for example, given permission to leave class in order to decorate the school halls or gymnasium for an upcoming event. As Cusick observed, it was common for the classroom to be disrupted by students 'coming in late, looking around, walking to the front to get a paper or to the back to sharpen a pencil, the surreptitious eating and the putting down of heads'.[169] As author Mark Edmundson recalled, the 'major Medford High School indoor sport' was teacher torment.[170] Students 'drum the desks, yack as loudly as we care to with our neighbors, pull out newspapers. A few lay their heads down and began a nap'.[171] Furthermore, the plethora of distractions hindered 'diligence' as the school norm.[172]

The increasing reliance upon substitute teachers also interfered with the flow of class work. When a substitute was in class, students felt 'blessed with holidays whilst still going to school'.[173] To many students at Bellingham, having a substitute teacher meant 'throwing spitwads, sitting in the wrong seats, exchanging names, being dismissed with the janitor buzzer, catching up on gossip missed, and eating munchos'.[174] As the students

[169] Cusick, *The Egalitarian Ideal*, p. 65.
[170] Edmundson, *Teacher, The One who Made the Difference*, p. 23.
[171] Edmundson, *Teacher, The One who Made the Difference*, p. 39.
[172] Sedlak, *et al., Selling Students Short,* p. 166.
[173] *Bellingham Beacon*, February 1, 1974.
[174] *Ibid.*

noted, 'subs are here to take advantage of'.[175] Under the headline, 'Do Substitutes Know Their Business', a contingent of students voiced their complaints, noting that when a substitute teacher filled in for a week, he 'managed to confuse the whole class and himself too. It was apparent that he didn't know what he was supposed to be teaching'.[176] Students also commented on, 'A French sub who didn't speak French, and a biology teacher who had to substitute in chemistry on the day the class was to review for a test.[177] Throughout the 1970s, the Bellingham School District budget reveals a growing dependence upon substitute teachers in the classroom.

As the students of Bellingham High reveal, the distractions were many. Single file on the stairway was necessary to prevent a back up 'all the way up to the third floor'.[178] Hall monitors kept the traffic moving and gave a warning slip to those going 'up the down side'.[179] Students with disciplinary marks were assigned to work with the high school grounds crew. Over the next few years the overcrowding worsened so that walking the school halls was deemed 'worthy of combat pay.'[180] During the late 1970s, students also had to contend with sex in the halls,[181] tacks on chairs, food stuffed into keyholes[182] and classroom pranks that included a *Playboy* magazine centrefold being affixed to a classroom map.[183] Students began to complain over the frequency of the class disruptions. Being 'hit, kicked, prodded and poked' some students felt deprived of their right to learn, for 'who can learn anything while being constantly pestered?'[184] To add to the confusion,

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[175] *Bellingham Beacon,* May 6, 1980.
[176] *Bellingham Beacon,* May 6, 1977.
[177] *Ibid.*
[178] *Bellingham Beacon,* October 16, 1973.
[179] *Ibid.*
[180] *Bellingham Beacon,* December 14, 1978.
[181] *Bellingham Beacon,* January 30, 1978.
[182] *Bellingham Beacon,* June 5, 1978.
[183] *Bellingham Beacon,* March 30, 1976.
[184] *Bellingham Beacon,* February 13, 1979.

the attendance office issued visitor passes to friends of students on a regular basis. This meant that classrooms were further disrupted by the presence of one or more student visitors.

During the fall quarter, students participated in a plethora of events connected with Homecoming week: shopping cart races, slave sales, costume contests, a body pyramid, a pep-rally, and then a parade through the city of Bellingham. The week culminated in a football game and dance on Friday night. The Winter Sports Week broke the routine of the winter schedule with a daily dress-up, an air-band contest, skit, yell competition and a poster run. Throughout the school year, spirit goodies were sold during both breaks and students began to use this as a 'legitimate' excuse for being late for their next class stating, 'the line was long'. During the 1976 Senior Stuff-It Day, 47 students were 'crammed into the counselors office'.[185] The list of scheduled and unscheduled distractions was virtually endless. To name but a few more, students were given a yearbook distribution period, and a rash of false fire alarms prompted the administration to warn students that if caught pulling the alarm, they would be placed on probation and receive a possible $300.00 fine.

Teachers and administrators sometimes resorted to unconventional ways of countering student apathy, boredom and disengagement. In June 1980, Mr. Pitsch, a social studies teacher, received a phone call from Mr. Riseland, a school counsellor. Mr. Pitsch was asked to rush to the main office where he was detained by school staff but later noted, 'I was a little upset for the emergency was something that could be handled at anytime, and certainly didn't call for me to leave my class unattended'.[186] Once the social studies

[185] *Bellingham Beacon,* March 30, 1976.
[186] *Bellingham Beacon,* June 3, 1980.

teacher was permitted to return to his classroom, he found the room empty; all students, desks, maps, pictures, bookcases and chairs were gone. In his absence, the students, with the help of the maintenance staff, had reconstructed the entire classroom in the middle of the school running track where 'all the students were seated attentively listening to one of their fellow classmates lecture from the podium'.[187] Mr. Pitsch's comment 'The aggravating part of the whole incident was that they were paying more attention to the sub teacher than they would to me', suggests the humourlessness and lack of a sense of proportion that provoked other staff to organise the prank, but its scale does raise questions about their attitude toward the school routines as well.[188]

To help fight boredom and further connect with the students, the administration sanctioned, and even encouraged, these types of diversions. In March 1974, Mr. Krag, an English teacher at Bellingham noted, 'How many times have you walked into the main office and all the girl helpers are sitting there looking bored to death?'[189] Mr. Krag decided to change this when over the public address system he said, 'Call the main office if you hear music in your classroom'.[190] He then played music in all the rooms and the main office switchboard 'lit up'.[191] As a result, the 'main office girls were no longer bored'.[192] However, the administration failed to realise that to students, these interruptions were just that - interruptions from schoolwork. The need to hold students until graduation and make them feel happy resulted in filling the school day with diversions that devalued the seriousness of study at the high school level.

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[187] *Ibid.*
[188] *Ibid.*
[189] *Bellingham Beacon,* March 20, 1974.
[190] *Ibid.*
[191] *Ibid.*
[192] *Ibid.*

The general disparagement of serious study was further undermined by an element of role reversal at Bellingham High. In the 1980 *Bellingham Beacon Holiday Flyer*, under the 'Dear Santa' column, Ken Crawford, head varsity basketball coach and social studies teacher responded, 'I want to grow up to be a cowboy. Please send me a plug of chawing terbacky, real cowhide boots (I want to die with them on), a Colt 45 (show them Indians who's boss), and an Indian squaw'.[193] At the time of Crawford's 'Dear Santa' comment, there were approximately two-dozen Lummi Indian students attending Bellingham High. It is not surprising that, as a former student recalled, the 'Indian kids stayed isolated'.[194] At 27 years of age, Ken Crawford described himself as an 'educational entertainer,' adding, 'I now lean more heavily on the education side than when I started teaching seven years ago'.[195] Part of the explanation might be that Bellingham High had a much younger teaching staff in the late 1970s and early 1980s due to an increase in the teacher turnover rate, which ranged between six and 21 percent from 1969 until 1980. The highest rate of teacher turnover was experienced in the 1978-79 school year, with 21 percent of the teaching staff retiring. Thus in 1980, Mr. Patterson was hired as the new bandleader at Bellingham High; only 23 years old and just graduated from Washington State University, he filled a position typically occupied by a 50 to 60 year old veteran.

Shifts in authority received reinforcement after 1980, when students were given the opportunity to evaluate teacher performance. This placed increasing pressure on the teaching staff to further appease the student body in the drive to be 'liked'. The school yearbooks also offered exceptionally vivid examples of the changes in status for the teachers and administration at Bellingham High. As at Garfield High, the teaching staff

[193] *Bellingham Beacon, Holiday Flyer*, December 1980.
[194] Interview with Judy Buchanan, October 6, 2000.
[195] *Bellingham Beacon*, February 13, 1981.

was moved to the back of the school annual in the mid-1970s, with the faculty, administration, custodians and kitchen crew all being mixed into one alphabetical section. In the 1980 yearbook, staff photographs appear without their name and title underneath. The yearbooks also included demeaning photographs of teachers. For instance in the 1977 *Shuksan* yearbook, the opening page contains a photograph of a teacher wearing a longhaired wig, sitting in one of the administration offices holding a cup of coffee in his hand. The next few pages were devoted to a series of photographs showing male teachers wearing dresses and wigs and dancing, and the vice-principal was pictured with his thumbs in his ears, fingers up, blowing out of his mouth. Presumably the occasion was a party, but no thought seems to have been given to the suitability of reprinting the photographs. Without context, the demeaning photographs make teachers look silly and unprofessional.

Throughout the 1970s, the academic standard at Bellingham High appeared to be in decline. During the 1975-76 school year, the English Department requested permission to use children's books in their regular freshman and sophomore classes, the list included: *Madeline's Rescue, Make Way for Ducklings* and *May I Bring a Friend.*[196] The Instructional Materials Committee also approved a request for the Bellingham High School library to receive 14 additional children's books for permanent stock.[197] The level of student disengagement from rigorous study was evident in a 1979 opinion poll, which revealed the top two most popular classes at Bellingham High were study hall and auto mechanics.[198] The list of top ten classes included Navigation, Archery, Commercial Fishing, Sign Language, Aviation, Anthropology, Astronomy, Theory of Rock and Roll,

[196] *Bellingham Beacon*, June 3, 1975.
[197] *Ibid.*
[198] *Bellingham Beacon*, May 31, 1979.

Dance, and Ancient Navigational Theories in Use.[199] The shift in student interest is reflected in the number of teachers devoted to academic subjects. By 1981, just 41 percent of the high school staff was assigned to teach in the academic subject areas.

The decline in academic standards was apparent to the student body. In 1977, students voiced their frustration in the *Bellingham Beacon* stating, 'throughout Whatcom County, Future Farmers of America, Future Homemakers, Future Businesses of America, ROTC are all provided to high school students interested in a specific field; learning how to prepare for college is just as important to the college-bound students, as learning how to care for a farm is to a future farmer'.[200] Students went on to explain, 'all along we have been patted on our backs and have been told what a great job of writing we have done and then comes the one and only college writing class at the end of our senior year and we finally learn that we can not write'.[201]

Students also began to complain about grade inflation. As reported in the *Beacon*, 'Teachers should stop thinking of 'C' as below average and as a result of that, pressures on the student would be lessened - stop putting emphasis on getting a 4.0'.[202] In the traditional A through F letter grade scale, a student who received a 'C' was given an average mark for their coursework. As Judy Buchanan recalled, 'The desire to make sure my gpa stayed high, overshadowed my wanting to learn'.[203] High grading marks gave students a sense of satisfaction, appeased anxious parents, and earned them the

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[199] *Ibid.*
[200] *Bellingham Beacon*, November 22, 1977.
[201] *Ibid.*
[202] *Bellingham Beacon,* January 28, 1977.
[203] Interview with Judy Buchanan, October 6, 2000. As an only child, Judy felt pushed into academic classes by her mother who was 'career minded'. Judy also felt she 'retained very little' as a result of focusing on maintaining a high grade average.

opportunity to attend university. The devalued letter grade scale, aggravated further by introducing the elective system and the pass-fail mark, undermined a student's sense of real accomplishment. In the absence of an academic 'standard' or canon, earning a high grade point average became a rather illusory achievement for students at Bellingham High. Under these circumstances, students could gauge the minimum amount of work that was needed to earn a high-grade mark. As Gerald Grant argues, the cynical student in the 1970s simply learned to 'beat the system'.[204]

By the late 1970s, student apathy, disengagement and cynicism were all very evident at Bellingham High. Student council meetings continued to be irregular and chaotic, and as at Garfield, the discussions often centred on student rights issues such as designating a smoking 'wall' in the back of the school, parking lot problems and improving the quality of lunches served in the cafeteria.[205] In 1975-76, just 28 percent of the student body chose to vote in the student council elections, with fewer students electing to run for student council 'fearing the groans and boos' at the election assembly.[206] To attract student voters, the high school developed an Associated Student Body Voters Pamphlet in 1977. By 1983, there were just 50 extra curricular activities organised at Bellingham High, down from 56 in 1970. The *Bellingham Beacon's* publication schedule became erratic, with noticeable changes in content and delivery until eventually publication ceased altogether in 1982. By the late 1970s, the *Beacon* was in magazine format, a layout that contained more pictures and long feature articles such as, 'How to Crush Boredom's Blues', 'Pills, Rope, or Knife?', 'A Very Big Gaseous Problem', 'Michelle's Bug' and 'The Kitchen

[204] Grant, *The World We Created at Hamilton High*, p. 57.
[205] By 1976, 64 percent of students in the district were purchasing school lunches. The district attributed the increase to their attempts to make cafeterias 'more attractive, serve popular dishes and keep prices reasonable'. The most popular dishes were noted to be hamburgers, sloppy joes, tacos and french fries. 'More school lunches sold', *The Bellingham Herald*, September 17, 1976.
[206] *Bellingham Beacon*, May 31, 1979.

Staff'. There was an average of just eight students working on the *Beacon* staff during the late 1970s, which caused the advisor to enlist the fourth period typing class in the production of the school newspaper. In 1980, the fifth period Journalism class produced the *Beacon*, since working on the school newspaper could no longer be left as an after-school activity.[207] In the Student Forum, there was a preponderance of 'Name Withheld by Request' on letters, a small but significant indicator that students were unwilling or unable to enter into conversation. Once considered a model citizen, the student-of-the-month was characterised in 1977 as a student who had 'apparently done nothing for the good of the school, his seemingly unproductive life did not escape the wary eye of this reporter'.[208] This student apparently 'likes to imitate furniture'.[209] Whether this reporter was being facetious is unclear, however, the significance once attached to being named a student-of-the-month was gone by the late 1970s. Students at Bellingham no longer took pride in their school. In early 1975 the school mascot 'got its face smashed in with an axe'[210] and during the winter quarter of 1977 there were 20 reported locker thefts. In the 1960s, drama productions at Bellingham High had attracted sold out crowds, students and community alike. Interest had waned by 1976 when the total audience for all three performances of the school play, *Seven Sisters*, was just 35 students.

Students at Bellingham High compared the school to 'Uncle Tom's Privee,' with a 'multitude of slaves saunterin' along the corridors . . . minstrels singing the Alma Mater'.[211] This was an interestingly inappropriate analogy to choose to voice their discontent with the high school experience. The lack of academic rigour, the

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[207] *Bellingham Beacon,* March 13, 1980.
[208] *Bellingham Beacon,* January 28, 1977.
[209] *Ibid.*
[210] *Bellingham Beacon,* February 7, 1975.
[211] *Bellingham Beacon,* November 14, 1969.

fragmentation of the curriculum, and the administration's preoccupation with attendance and graduation rates left many students feeling as if 'the administration is more interested in general attendance than the actual gain of knowledge'.[212] Sedlak and his colleagues argue that earning a high school diploma was a hollowed experience in which 'seat time,' was the most important factor to fulfilling credit requirements. Under these conditions, attending high school became a ritual rather than a useful or enriching personal experience. Faced with financial constraints and poor student performance, earning 'credits' became a 'convenient, mechanical way to measure academic progress'.[213]

Bellingham High School was not the only secondary school in Washington State to lack academic rigour. In September 1977, Richard John Fisher, age 21, filed a lawsuit in the State of Washington Superior Court 'seeking unspecified damages for permitting graduation without the requisite reading skills'.[214] Fisher claimed he was unemployable because he could not read well enough to obtain a job when he graduated from Seattle's Lincoln High School in 1974. He was turned down by the United States Armed Forces and was subsequently forced to quit a janitorial job because he could not read the labels on cleaning chemicals. As with similar cases in New York and San Francisco, the court held that the responsibility to educate a child is a collective one and thus ruled in favour of the Seattle School District.[215] Fisher's case highlighted two important issues, first, a presumed neglect by the school system, and secondly, the unwillingness of Fisher and his family to accept responsibility for failing to ensure he acquired basic reading skills. Since the late 1960s, schools in Washington State have followed the practice of social

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[212] *Bellingham Beacon,* October 16, 1969.
[213] Boyer, *High School,* p. 60.
[214] Eric Nalder, 'Graduate Who Can't Read Sues Schools', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 22, 1977.
[215] *Ibid.*

promotion, that is, letting students pass on through the grades without having learned the age-appropriate skills. Students were moved ahead for social and emotional reasons. As described by one Bellingham teacher, 'flunking . . . [was] like showing up for a fancy party dressed for a barn dance, only it feels that way day after day'.[216] State officials, administrators and teachers, therefore, considered social promotion more beneficial than harmful to a student. James Higbee, school psychologist for the Bellingham School District stated, 'different students learn at different speeds. But that doesn't mean a fast learner is any more intelligent than a slower learner . . . its their right to be different'.[217] Holding a student back was seen as punishing the 'slower' student. Although no lawsuits were filed against the Bellingham School District for neglect, given the practice of social promotion, it was inevitable someone would graduate from high school without learning basic reading, writing or arithmetic skills. The Fischer case highlighted this potential. During a *Seattle Times* interview, the principal of Eckstein Middle School in Seattle was not surprised by the Fisher case. He noted that through 'benign neglect no student at Eckstein has been held back for at least the past six years'.[218] But, he then added the caution, 'A few have needed it'.[219]

Faced with declining levels of student achievement, Americans blamed the institutional reforms of the previous decade for lowering academic standards and undermining discipline in the nation's schools.[220] According to the National Assessment

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[216] Connie Tedrow, 'Schools Reluctant to Flunk Students', *The Bellingham Herald*, April 15, 1979.
[217] *Ibid.*
[218] Eric Nalder, 'Graduate Who Can't Read Sues Schools', *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 22, 1977.
[219] *Ibid.*
[220] According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), in all but 'reference skills', the reading and writing scores of 17 year olds declined between 1969 and 1979; total reading dropped from 68.9 to 68.2 percent, 10 to 25 percent of the students had 'serious difficulty putting words on paper'. Boyer, *High School*, pp. 26-27. The NAEP mathematics tests measured four categories: knowledge, skills,

of Educational Progress, the SAT and the ACT scores, the public schools were failing America's youth. During the recession, citizens were more tax conscious and took greater interest in where their money was being spent. Following the pilot programme that was launched in the Seattle School District, the Minimum Competencies Assurance Program was implemented at Bellingham High in 1976-77. The test, identical to that at Garfield, was designed to measure a student's ability to perform basic tasks. Near the end of their junior year, Bellingham students were required to show English proficiency by passing the Minimum Competency Test. Students who did not pass the test were given a second opportunity to do so in the fall quarter of their senior year, and seniors who had not passed by the winter quarter were assigned to an English skills class. Successful completion of all sections of the competency test was required for high school graduation. In 1977, approximately one-half of the district's high school juniors failed the first competency test in April. At the end of the school year, despite receiving remedial assistance, 34 Bellingham students again failed the exam.[221] As at Garfield, these are surprising results given the modest aims of the programme, but unfortunately the emphasis of the Minimum Competencies Assurance Program was on the 'minimum' rather than the 'competency'.[222]

Hence after 1975, a number of changes were instituted at Bellingham following the implementation of the minimum competency programme and the promotion to the post of

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understanding, and application. As reported by Boyer, between 1973 and 1978, the scores of 17 year olds dropped by four percent. Boyer, *High School*, p. 27.

[221] As the Bellingham Herald article notes, 20 Bellingham High juniors with learning disabilities were exempted from the test. Carolyn Hugh, 'English Test Proves Tough for Students', *The Bellingham Herald*, June 24, 1977. In comparison, Florida's minimum competency test results in 1977 and 1978 showed 30 to 40 percent of the state's students scoring below the minimum for graduation. As Pipho argued, 'Despite the fact that the states have used different tests, different cut-off scores, and different standards, the experiences have been remarkably alike'. Chris Pipho, 'Standards, Assessment, Accountability: The tangled triumvirate', *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 78, Issue 9 (May 1997), pp. 673-674.

[222] Coulson, *Market Education*, p. 116.

principal of Larry Stephan, a man many considered 'a no-nonsense kind of guy'.[223] Efforts to improve the standard of academic study at Bellingham High included strengthening the graduation requirements for students entering grade nine in the fall of 1977. A student was now required to earn a minimum of 56 credits (increased from 52), and to have attended the equivalent of four years or 12 quarters. The school district increased the required credit load because too many students had 'opted to take the path of least resistance'.[224] Rather than take advantage of the 'extra credits' to broaden their studies as the administration had hoped, the majority of students were choosing to either graduate early or complete their final year of study with a light class load. Although there was an increase in credit load after 1977, the subject area breakdown remained essentially unchanged; 37 percent of the required credits were to be completed in the academic subject areas; 15 percent in physical education, health, and occupational education, and 48 percent through elective class work. After 1977, students were no longer permitted to substitute an elective course for a required English class, a change that prompted one student to exclaim, 'six English classes to graduate is ridiculous! . . . what practical use is it to learn about Greek and Roman lit?'[225] The administration conceded and permitted students to substitute Journalism for English Three, a junior level language arts course.

To accompany the 'improved' academic standards, the administration proposed a change in the sports requirements. Before 1977, students were allowed to fail three out of

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[223] Larry Stephan was a native of Whatcom County and a 1945 graduate of Bellingham High School. After serving in the United States Marine Corp, Stephan began his teaching career in Sedro Woolley, Washington in 1952. He transferred to Bellingham High School's Social Studies Department in 1960, and was promoted to vice-principal in 1968. Mary Lane Gallagher, 'Family Enjoys Long Allegiance to Bellingham High School', *The Bellingham Herald*, August 8, 2000.

[224] Teresa Allen, 'Bellingham Tightens Graduation Requirements', *The Bellingham Herald*, September 18, 1979.

[225] *Bellingham Beacon*, December 14, 1978. Prior to 1977, students were required to take six English classes plus one course in Speech. However, they were given the opportunity to substitute an elective course from a related subject area such as Business English.

five classes if they were taking part in extra curricular sports. The revised eligibility required participating athletes to maintain at least a 2.5 grade point average and students could fail no more than two of five classes. The recommendation drew complaints; the essence of the argument was that 'if the existing requirements are made more stringent some athletes may have to drop sports just to keep up with all their schoolwork. The resultant effect could be that our teams might lose more games. Consequently, school spirit would drop and interest in sports would go down, along with attendance at games'.[226] In the end, the sports requirement remained unchanged. The guidelines for cheerleading were, however, amended in 1977 with eligibility being based on a student's attendance record.[227]

After 1977, Principal Stephan also initiated a change in the school's disciplinary regulations to help regain control of the student body. Interest in attendance was the result of an increase in the dropout rate at Bellingham High during the mid to late 1970s. From four percent in 1972, the rate of dropout increased to six percent in 1974 and by 1982, to a little higher at 6.29 percent, although for juniors and seniors the rate had climbed to 8.29 and 7.05 percent respectively.[228] In 1975, Bellingham implemented a stricter attendance policy. Without exception, students were now required to obtain an admittance slip if they arrived tardy for class. One unexcused absence resulted in a talk with the administration, with a letter being sent home. Following two unexcused absences, a meeting between the parents and the administration was scheduled; after three unexcused absences students were expelled from all five classes. The revised attendance policy was to be enforced, 'to

[226] *Bellingham Beacon*, April 3, 1978.
[227] Previous to 1977, cheerleaders were required to maintain a grade point average of 2.5 before election, and a 2.0 after election to the squad.
[228] Presumably drop out will always be higher for juniors and seniors due to job opportunities.

the extreme'.[229] Also developed in 1975 was a contract system whereupon students could enter into a contract with the school administration if they expected to be absent from class more than two days.

Disciplinary matters were again the focus of attention when the school instituted the On-Campus Suspension (OCS) programme in 1980. OCS replaced the traditional short-term suspension system at Bellingham, the key difference being that under the OSC system students continued to attend school on a regular basis. However, they were segregated from the larger student body. Keeping suspended students in school was a way to maintain a student's 'habit of learning'. Students placed in the OSC programme were required to attend a separate study hall full-time. 'If busted' for smoking in 'other than designated areas,' students received two days in OCS; drugs and alcohol violations drew three days in OCS; fighting, two days; serious class misconduct a minimum of two days; a maximum of five days for theft; and a second truancy earned a student a minimum of two days in OCS.[230] The programme ran from 7:45 am until 2:30 pm with a half-hour lunch break. Students were to sit in booths that were 'strategically placed so that they can look out the window, hopefully succeeding in keeping them from falling asleep because of the obvious boredom'.[231] To occupy their time, students were given materials on self-awareness to read, with assignments to complete.

The bell schedule was also changed in the fall of 1982 to accommodate a 20-minute Silent Reading period every Tuesday and Thursday morning from 10:10 am until 10:30 am, with snack break being moved to 10:30 am until 10:40 am. This programme was

[229] *Bellingham Beacon*, October 9, 1975.
[230] *Ibid.*
[231] *Bellingham Beacon*, May 6, 1980.

'hatched in the faculty room' in order to improve student attitudes toward reading.[232] Students were not encouraged to read magazines, and newspapers were forbidden. Those who chose not to read could again sit quietly. As reported in the *Beacon*, 'save for a handful of holdouts in the hall and lining the smoker's fence out back, everyone is reading'.[233] School officials were disappointed however, for out of the 3,500 books collected for the programme, all had disappeared from the classroom shelves by June 1982.[234]

A verse from a poem submitted by a Bellingham High student in 1977 sums up the high school experience for many,

> School is like . . .
> Being locked in a
> round room and ordered
> to sit in the
> corner.[235]

To many students in the 1970s, attending high school was devoid of meaning. The Bellingham School District's desire to bolster the presumed fragile ego of each student, the school's attempt to counter student apathy and disengagement by adopting an overtly conciliatory stance, its open elective system, its lack of academic rigour, and its sanctioning of a pervasive culture of interruptions, all contributed to the creation of an environment that one student noted as being a combination of 'babysitting service and

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[232] *Bellingham Beacon*, May 21, 1982.
[233] *Ibid.*
[234] The books used for the Silent Reading Program were donated by the community, students were not required to check the books out and teachers did not take a 'book count' at the end of the class period. Because many of the books were small paperbacks, the administration presumed that the students had inadvertently walked out carrying a classroom book. The Silent Reading Program ended in 1982.
[235] *Bellingham Beacon*, November 22, 1977.

local prison'.[236] The Self-Esteem-Now movement that was widely introduced into American education in the 1960s promised 'liberation from all constraints'.[237] Barbara Lerner argued that 'Teachers generally seem to accept the modern dogma that self-esteem is the critical variable for intellectual development'.[238] And, whereas in 1965, high school principals ranked 'development of positive self-concept and good human relations' seventh out of eight educational goals, by 1977, it had moved up to second out of ten.[239] Just before the start of the school year in 1978, teachers in Bellingham were 'given a pep talk' on motivating students, with the speaker emphasising the importance of 'praise and body language' to developing a student's 'good mental health'.[240] A guidance counsellor at Bellingham also felt, 'When a student improves his self-image this takes care of 90 % of society's problems'.[241]

Concerned with the affective side and psychological cost of education, schools introduced the practice of social promotion, added relevance into the curriculum, 'deemphasized cognition and down-played academic skills'.[242] As Maureen Stout argues, schools were 'no longer for learning essential skills or acquiring knowledge but for cultivating what Daniel Goleman calls "emotional intelligence": the ability to get along with others, understand one's feelings and one's emotional hang-ups, and generally figure out how to deal with others effectively'.[243] By focusing almost exclusively on student self-esteem, Lerner argues the American high school would 'produce restlessness and

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[236] *Bellingham Beacon,* September 1975.
[237] Maureen Stout, *The Feel-Good Curriculum, The Dumbing-Down of America's Kids in the Name of Self-Esteem* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 15.
[238] Barbara Lerner, 'Self-Esteem and Excellence: The Choice and the Paradox', *American Educator*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Winter 1985), p. 10.
[239] Hampel, *The Last Little Citadel*, p. 137.
[240] Connie Tedrow, 'Teachers Given Pep Talk', *The Bellingham Herald*, August 31, 1978.
[241] *Bellingham Beacon*, September 25, 1969.
[242] Perkinson, *The Imperfect Panacea*, p. 189.
[243] Stout, *The Feel-Good Curriculum*, p. 3.

dissatisfaction, a constant hunger to get more for less, and a life organized in search of it'.[244] The outcome of affective education and a 'feel-good curriculum' was evident in one student's prophetic response, 'Don't serve the people - serve ourselves!'[245]

As a student at Bellingham noted, 'with just a little more money the district could install barb wire, alarm systems, time locks and armed guards . . . we [students] could really teach them all about freedom and democracy'.[246] The gulf between the aim of American public secondary education and the reality as it was experienced in the 1970s and early 1980s, was indeed not lost on this young student. Frustrated and disillusioned, many students at Bellingham High appear to have resigned from serious study, a course that Mark Edmundson described when he noted, 'I had simply decided to drown at Medford High, to never do my homework, to rarely pay attention, to do a kind of zombie walk through all my classes. I was drowning willingly, too it seemed - not even kicking or waving for the sake of appearances'.[247]

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[244] Lerner, 'Self-Esteem and Excellence', p. 16.
[245] *Bellingham Beacon,* March 12, 1971.
[246] *Bellingham Beacon,* September 1975
[247] Edmundson, *Teacher, The One who Made the Difference*, p. 21.

Conclusion

The Nation at Risk?

By the early 1980s, there was growing concern that something was 'seriously remiss' in the American educational system.[1] With unemployment on the rise and a stream of American industries falling to world competition, the alarming truth became evident; the nation had suffered a 15-year decline in industrial productivity and there was no end in sight.[2] Faced with an unprecedented trade imbalance, federal deficit spending and accompanying inflation, public officials and corporate leaders forged an alliance to determine why the economy was suffering. Echoing the post-Sputnik era, Americans fixed blame on the public schools. As Wirt and Kirst observed, Toyota had replaced Sputnik 'as the symbol of our educational decline'.[3] Once again, a crisis in public secondary schooling was the subject of a tidal wave of alarming reports, national news headlines, magazine cover stories and televised news conferences.[4] Evidence of eroding

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[1] U.S. Department of Education, National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (Washington, D.C., 1983), p. 1.

[2] By 1979, the United States' share of the world market had slipped to just over 17 percent. The U.S. share of world exports of manufactured goods was 25.3 percent in 1960, 19.1 percent in 1975, 17.3 percent in 1979. From 1980 the U.S. share made a slight rebound reaching 19.4 percent in 1983. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1984*,105th edition (Washington, D.C., 1985), p. 759. The national unemployment rate reached 9.7 percent in 1982. The unemployment rate in many American cities in the industrial heartland went as high as 28.4 percent, reflecting a loss of jobs in the auto and steel manufacturing industries. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1984*, p. 391.

[3] Frederick M. Wirt and Michael W. Kirst, *Schools in Conflict, The Politics of Education* (Berkeley, 1989), p. 2.

[4] By the end of 1985, over 20 national commissions completed reports on the crisis in American secondary schools. The Education Commission of the States tallied 275 special state-level task forces assembled between 1983-87. Wirt and Kirst, *The Politics of Education,* pp. 3-4. The crisis in American education was the subject of several national magazine cover stories including, 'Saving Our Schools', *Newsweek*, May 9, 1983; 'Back to School – and Back to Basics', *U.S. News and World Report*, Vol. 95, No. 12, September 19, 1983; 'Shaping Up, America's Schools are Getting Better', *Time*, Vol. 122, No. 16, October 10, 1983; and 'Ideas for the Schools', *The New Republic*, Issue 3, 590, November 7, 1983. In September 1984, ABC television devoted three hours of prime time programming to exploring the deterioration of American schools.

standards and diminishing levels of academic achievement contributed to a sense of frustration in American life that was described as 'both a dimming of personal expectations and the fear of losing a shared vision for America'.[5] Change was imperative for 'History is not kind to idlers'.[6]

Perceptions like these prompted the U.S. Secretary of Education, T.H. Bell, to create the National Commission on Excellence in Education in August 1981. The 18-member commission was chaired by David Gardner, president of the University of California, and was comprised of educators, corporate and public leaders. Following 18 months of study, the commission released *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* on April 26, 1983, stating, 'Our once unchallenged pre-eminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world'.[7] The fundamental indicators of this situation were outlined as:

> - International comparisons of student achievement, completed a decade ago, reveal that on 19 academic tests American students were never first or second and, in comparison with other industrialised nations, were last seven times.
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> - Some 23 million American adults are functionally illiterate by the simplest tests of everyday reading, writing, and comprehension.
>
> - About 13 percent of all 17 year olds in the United States can be considered functionally illiterate. Functional illiteracy among minority youth may run as high as 40 percent.
>
> - Average achievement of high school students on most standardised tests is now lower than 26 years ago when Sputnik was launched.

[5] *A Nation at Risk*, p. 11.
[6] *A Nation at Risk*, p. 6.
[7] *A Nation at Risk*, p. 5.

- Over half the population of gifted students do not match their tested ability with comparable achievement in school.

- The College Board's Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT) demonstrate a virtually unbroken decline from 1963 to 1980. Average verbal scores fell over 50 points and average mathematics scores dropped nearly 40 points.

- Many 17 year olds do not possess the 'higher order' intellectual skills we should expect of them. Nearly 40 percent cannot draw inferences from written material; only one-fifth can write a persuasive essay and only one-third can solve a mathematics problem requiring several steps.

- Between 1975 and 1980, remedial mathematics courses in public 4-year colleges increased by 72 percent and now constitute one-quarter of all mathematics courses taught in those institutions. Average tested achievement of students graduating from college is also lower.[8]

A Nation at Risk linked 'mediocre student performance on national and international tests to mediocre economic performance in the global marketplace'.[9] It denounced America's educational institutions for having 'lost sight of the basic purposes of schooling', and the problem was not confined to the inner-city school or low achieving student.[10] The trend was also common in the vast majority of predominately white, middle-class, academically oriented suburban high schools, where adolescents appeared to be receiving a 'good education'.[11] These, of course, were precisely the schools that Conant

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[8] *A Nation at Risk*, pp. 8-9.
[9] *A Nation at Risk*, p. 5.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] Sedlak, *et al., Selling Students Short*, pp. 3-4. The report struck such a chord with the American public that within a year over 70,000 copies of *A Nation at Risk* were sold, with private groups having reprinted at least another 500,000. The findings of the report were echoed in virtually all the most significant contemporary academic analyses. According to Sedlak and his colleagues, virtually every objective and subjective criterion showed that high school students in the mid-1980s were achieving less academically than their predecessors of 20 years before. Sedlak, *et al., Selling Students Short*, p. 2. John Goodlad, *A Place Called School: Prospects for the Future* (New York, 1985); Theodore R. Sizer, *Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School* (Boston, 1984); Ernest L. Boyer, *High School, A Report on Secondary Education in America* (New York, 1983); and Mortimer J. Adler, *The Paideia Proposal* (New York, 1982). Michael Kirst's comparison of the 1983 reports uncovered striking similarities

had not looked at, because, like the National Commission he had assumed they were already delivering a quality education. Not only did Conant and the National Commission share assumptions, their recommendations were remarkably congruent.[12] The National Commission referred to the 'Five New Basics': English, Social Studies, Maths, Science and Computer Science. But, with the obvious exception of the last, these were precisely the subjects on which Conant had concentrated. The difference in style of the two reports was the result of first, their difference in status (the one was privately, if prestigiously endowed, the other was federally commissioned) and, second, of the more self-consciously operational approach (with clearly identified aims and objectives, inputs and outcomes) that emerged in the quarter-century between them.

The teaching of English was of fundamental importance to both reports, as the basis not only of all other learning, but also of the national heritage. Both reports called for students to take English throughout high school and be required to write accurately and effectively. Conant even called for an average of one essay a week. But, whereas Conant recommended only one year of mathematics and 'at least' one year of science, the National Commission called for three years of both, looking at the disciplines in terms of concepts, processes, applications and social implications. Conant had seen the way into science through the subjects, chemistry first (not surprisingly) and then physics, theoretical and 'practical'. But, 25 years later the emphasis had shifted to the physical and

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in themes and prescription; all agreed the American high school was spread over too many objectives, the school curriculum was fragmented and unregulated, and teacher training, teaching methods, levels of pay and teaching duties all required revision. Kirst, *Who Controls Our Schools?*, pp. 17-18.

[12] See Appendix 1 for a full listing of recommendations presented by Conant in *The American High School Today* and *A Nation at Risk.*

biological sciences, together with a recognition that students also needed to understand the potential of computing for both study and life.[13]

Just as Conant's chemistry had disappeared as an autonomous subject by 1983, so had his history, subsumed in a broad sweep of social studies that was intended to enable students to locate themselves chronologically and to appreciate the workings of the American economic and political systems. But although history as such might have vanished, the themes of free enterprise economies and representative government still remained. Conant had also sought to inculcate 'mutual respect and understanding between different types of students'.[14] The National Commission's equivalent was to 'grasp the difference between free and repressive societies'.[15] In Californian terms, one might say this was the movement from Earl Warren to Ronald Reagan!

With regard to foreign languages, Conant and the National Commission again spoke with one mind. Proficiency in another language not only heightened a students' awareness of their own language, but also increased their awareness of other people's cultures. Further than this, it was positively necessary in terms of commerce, defence and diplomacy (where Conant had been able to draw on his own experience to point out the deficiencies of personnel in American missions aboard). Conant had largely taken standards and expectations for granted, being interested fundamentally in creating opportunities and enhancing the prestige of the gifted (through such things as academic inventories and honours lists); but he was also concerned with providing genuine and reliable evidence of achievement in all areas and so recommended the adoption of a course

[13] Conant, *The American High School Today*, pp. 47, 73.
[14] Conant, *The American High School Today*, p. 75.
[15] *A Nation at Risk*, p. 26.

transcript in addition to the graduation diploma. Twenty-five years later the issue of grade inflation had called into question the meaning of such transcripts and the National Commission, therefore, in addition to insisting that grades should really mean what they said, also recommended the expanded use of those standardised tests that Conant had been so involved in developing, particularly at the crucial educational transitions to high school and to college (where entrance requirements should be tightened and specified in terms of these tests).[16]

Both Conant and the National Commission saw opportunities for increasing the time spent by students on their education, through more homework, a longer school day, and its more efficient arrangement, both arguing that such measures would contribute towards the extra time needed for slow learners on the one hand, and the gifted on the other. The National Commission, however, sought also to take into account the problems of discipline, attendance and tardiness which had not been issues for Conant, but which had become more acute in the schools since the late 1950s.[17]

Conant had also been able to take his teachers for granted in a way that the National Commission were no longer able to do. This was where *The Nation at Risk* showed its freshest thinking with proposals for realistic salary levels ('professionally competitive, market-sensitive, and performance-based') and continuing professional development within a proper career structure. There were also measures to attract new teachers into areas of critical shortage, such as maths and science, together with a concern that teacher

[16] This led the National Commission to look much more closely than Conant at the provision and quality of texts and teaching material, demanding constant up-dating and proper evaluation.
[17] Conant, *The American High School Today*, pp. 55, 64-65; *A Nation at Risk*, pp. 21-23.

training should not be left as a matter of theory, but should directly involve experienced teachers.[18]

Finally, whereas Conant had assumed the high school was essentially the arbiter of its own destiny, the National Commission recognised that it operated at the juncture of all three levels of American government. It called, therefore, on local communities to support its many reforms; on state officials to incorporate them into its educational and financial planning; on the federal government to recognise the national interest in education and to act accordingly, especially in relation to key groups of students, from the gifted to the handicapped, and to maintain a whole range of infrastructures and services which the states and localities were inherently unable (for reasons of constitution or competence) to provide.[19]

But, if there were considerable areas of agreement in their recommendations, the contrast between Conant's optimism and the National Commission's pessimism was even more startling. In its analysis, the Commission looked particularly at four aspects of the educational process: content of the curriculum, expectations, time and teaching. Notable deficiencies were revealed in each area. In content, the Commission concluded that secondary school curricula had been 'homogenised, diluted, and diffused', and presented to students 'cafeteria-style in which the appetizers and desserts can easily be mistaken for the main courses'.[20] Lowered expectations of students were revealed in the reduced time they were required to spend on mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, geography and foreign language. Many were opting for less demanding coursework in personal service

[18] *A Nation at Risk*, pp. 30-31.
[19] *A Nation at Risk*, pp. 32-33.
[20] *A Nation at Risk*, p. 18.

and development classes, such as training for adulthood and marriage.[21] The Commission also found a decrease in the amount of homework, and a large number of high school texts that did not 'challenge the students to whom they are assigned'.[22] Compared to other nations, the American student was spending less time on schoolwork and the time that was spent in the classroom and on homework was used ineffectively. The Commission also reported that 'not enough academically able students' were being attracted to teaching due to low salaries and a diminished professional status. Individual teachers had little influence in such critical decisions as curriculum content and textbook selection.[23] Teacher preparation programmes were in need of 'substantial improvement', since study in 'educational methods' was weighted heavily over subject matter courses, so that 'half of the newly employed mathematics, science, and English teachers' were unqualified to teach these subjects.[24]

The first question, then, is how far did the Garfield and Bellingham experiences bear out these findings? What seems clear, to start with, is that the Conant proposals, particularly those intended to set new standards for academic achievement, had little direct impact on either Garfield or Bellingham. This was because Garfield was already academically distinguished, whilst Bellingham had a school culture that largely decried academic achievement. Furthermore, both were already 'comprehensive' high schools which provided 'a good general education for *all* the pupils', with an extensive selection of non-academic elective courses, such as vocational, commercial, and work-study classes,

[21] *A Nation at Risk*, p. 19.
[22] *A Nation at Risk*, p. 21.
[23] *A Nation at Risk*, pp. 22-23.
[24] *Ibid.*

as well as advanced courses in fields such as mathematics, science and foreign languages for the academically gifted.[25]

It is true that school officials dramatically expanded the high school curriculum, which grew four-fold in both schools between 1959 and 1983, but this 'curricular smorgasbord'[26] hastened a decline, rather than an improvement, in academics at Bellingham and Garfield. As the number of elective credits increased, there was a corresponding decrease in the number of academic classes required for graduation. At Garfield, required academic courses fell from 51 percent in 1956 to 30 percent in 1974. Bellingham experienced a similar trend with required academic coursework dropping from a high of 47.4 percent in 1968 to 37 percent in 1977. Given the opportunity to substitute non-academic for academic coursework, it was possible for a high school student to receive very little instruction in the basic academic subject areas. English at Bellingham and social studies at Garfield, for example, in 1968, required only four credits for graduation. Electives also tended to be highly specialised, non-sequential, and focused in personal service, development, pre-vocational and work-study classes.[27] School officials further assumed students would take responsibility for their education and thereby elect a schedule that included academically challenging courses. However, students at Bellingham and

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[25] Diane Ravitch, 'Reformers, Radicals, and Romantics', in *The Jossey-Bass Reader on School Reform* (San Francisco, 2001), p. 45.
[26] *A Nation at Risk*, p. 18.
[27] Clifford Adelman presented further evidence of a decline in academic excellence in a study that compared college transcript files from 1972 and 1993. In summary, there was a growing proportion of withdrawals, incompletes, non-penalty grades and no-credit repeats beginning in the 1970s, particularly in mathematics. Remedial English ranked 14th and Remedial Reading, 16th. According to Adelman, the proportion of students earning university credits in all remedial courses remained constant at 46 percent of all students who earned more than ten credits. As in high school, remedial courses ceased to serve students as a springboard for entry into regular coursework. Adelman argued that the failure rate was highest in remedial courses in both mathematics and English due to 'weaknesses in student background'. U.S. Department of Education, National Institute on Post-Secondary Education, Office of Education Research and Improvement, Clifford Adelman, *The New College Course Map and Transcript Files; Changes in Course-Taking and Achievement, 1972-1993* (Washington, D.C., 1995), p. 266.

Garfield shied away from advanced coursework, particularly in mathematics and the sciences.[28] Both schools suffered low enrolment in all upper division classes. The paucity was greatest in mathematics and the sciences due to the low credit requirements for these subjects, and the ability to satisfy these credits at the middle school level. Bellingham and Garfield students were required to complete just two credits in science, equivalent to less than one year of study. At Garfield, only two credits were required in mathematics and, until the late 1960s, Bellingham had no maths requirement. The unstructured course requirements permitted peer pressure to influence student choice, fostering a 'do-your-own-thing' attitude in the high schools. The inaccessible counsellor, particularly to the average student, only frustrated matters at Bellingham and Garfield High.[29] Scheduling changes at both high schools meant an increase in student class loads from ten to 15 or 16 subjects each school year. And, together with the proliferation of electives, it fragmented the secondary school curriculum and undermined systematic study in both Washington high schools.

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[28] According to the U.S. Department of Education, enrolment in traditional mathematics courses dropped sharply between 1964 and 1981. The percentage of high school students enrolled in Algebra I declined from 76 to 64, while enrolment in geometry dropped from 51 to 44 percent. Enrolment in science courses also dropped; biology fell from 80 to 77 percent, chemistry 34 to 32 percent, and general science from 61 to 37 percent. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *High School and Beyond, a National Longitudinal Study for the 1980s; An Analysis of Course Offerings and Enrollments as Related to School Characteristics* (Washington, D.C., 1985), pp. 1-2. Gerald Grant argued the best students sought out the best teachers, the demanding teachers were avoided by others. Grant, *The World We Created at Hamilton High*, p. 67.

[29] Most secondary students negotiated their own curriculum for many did not receive assistance from the counselling office. In a 1972 National Longitudinal Study, up to 68 percent of graduating seniors either had no access, did not consult, or found the school counselling not helpful. The longitudinal study was a large-scale survey conducted in the spring of 1972, observing the educational and vocational activities, plans, aspirations and attitudes of young people after they left high school. The data was collected from 1,044 high schools and questionnaires completed by 18,143 students. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, Summary of First Followup Questionaire Data* (Washington, D.C., 1976), p. 856. To compound the problem, Diane Ravitch argued counsellors were 'nonjudgemental, seeing themselves as facilitators who helped students make choices (therapeutic strategies) without recourse to values or issues of right and wrong'. Ravitch, *Left Back*, p. 386.

Bellingham and Garfield contributed to diminishing expectations through the presence of grade inflation, the introduction of the pass-fail grading option, the minimum competencies programme, and the practice of social promotion. By developing a child-centred learning environment where teachers made concessions rather than placed demands on the students, the high schools weakened student responsibility and undermined the previously accepted levels of knowledge that a diploma represented. This tendency was also evident in the easing of discipline policies and the tailoring of textbook selections to reader interest and psychological impact. No longer representing a standard of achievement, the diploma was reduced to a mere measure of seat time and credits earned.[30] The level of achievement was also affected by team teaching, the introduction of educational tools such as speed-reading and teaching machines, as well as the tendency to 'teach to the middle' of the class. The National Commission considered 'hard work, behavior, self-discipline, and motivation' as 'essential for high student achievement', but these goals were undercut by lowered expectations at Bellingham and Garfield High.[31]

Adrift in the curriculum and facing lowered expectations, an increasing number of students ended up in the general programme of study. Excessive student choice led to a migration away from academic courses to far less demanding 'general track' studies such as Driver Education, Consumer and Cooperative Education.[32] As the National Commission reported, the number of American students following the general track

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[30] With performance devalued, administrators became preoccupied with maintaining student attendance, considered vital to a student's academic and future success. Bellingham and Garfield expended significant effort to maintain enrolment and reduce the rates of absenteeism, tardiness and dropout. Despite this, little to no progress was made in lowering the dropout rates between 1960 and 1983 and the graduation rates remained static.

[31] *A Nation at Risk*, p. 19.

[32] According to Ernest Boyer and the U.S. Department of Education, between 1966 and 1981 the ten courses that sustained the most growth were Physical Education, Music Performance, Remedial English, Driver Education, Cooperative Education, Health Education, Distributive Education, General Shop, Training for Marriage and Adulthood and Vocational Home Economics. Boyer, *High School*, pp. 73-74 and U.S. Department of Education, *High School and Beyond*, pp. xi-xii.

jumped from 12 percent in 1964 to 42 percent in 1979.[33] With twice as many elective, fundamental, survey and refresher courses on offer, together with the combining of all levels of foreign language, Bellingham and Garfield followed the national trend. Ernest Boyer cites two reasons for the shift: a 'variety of more attractive courses added to the curriculum', while the 'entrance requirements at many 4-year colleges were lowered, and attendance increased at community colleges, where there were few, if any, requirements'.[34] As the 1972 Longitudinal Survey reveals, students who followed the general track in high school were more apt to drop out and less likely to emerge from high school feeling confident and self-assured.[35] Having received no specialised training, the majority of students from the general track migrated towards low paying service and unskilled occupations following high school graduation.[36]

The impact of the elective movement and the expansion of general studies was more profound in the Central District and Garfield High School than at Bellingham, for the educational philosophy placed inner-city children at an even greater disadvantage. Most did not come from 'homes where educated parents read to them, took them to museums,

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[33] *A Nation at Risk,* p. 18. Although student records in the Bellingham and Seattle School Districts are closed, there was a strong demand for general track courses at both high schools suggesting a finding similar to that reported by the National Commission.

[34] Boyer, *High School,* p. 79. As discussed in Chapter 5, pp. 233-234, between 1966 and 1983, there was a significant increase in the number of youths in the State of Washington opting out of high school altogether and completing their education at the community college level. Fewer than 500 secondary students completed the General Education Diploma (GED) in 1970. A decade later, over 4,000 students received a GED.

[35] When asked to respond to the statement, 'On the whole, I'm satisfied with myself', the general track students disagreed at a higher rate. In answer to the following statements, 'I feel I am a person of worth, on an equal plane with others', and 'I am able to do things as well as most other people', the general track students selected 'I agree' at a lower percentage than either the academic or vocational student. U.S. Department of Education, *National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972*, pp. 84-98.

[36] The highest percentage of general track students, fully 23.92 percent reported working in a clerical position during the first year following high school graduation. U.S. Department of Education, *National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972,* pp. 522-523. It is to be expected that enrolment in the general track also correlated with a student's social status. According to Goodlad, a large proportion of minority and socio-economically disadvantaged students ended up in the lowest track levels. Goodlad, *A Place Called School*, pp. 151-154. The patterns of college enrolment at Garfield and Bellingham could not be determined as the school districts do not make a record of these statistics, a fact that in itself, is significant.

or surrounded them with books'.[37] In the absence of academic or career guidance at home and school, students floundered for lack of direction and purpose. Although both high schools initiated alternative educational programmes, including satellite schooling, the degree to which these options were utilised was far greater at Garfield High. Whilst alternative education proved effective in curbing dropout rates at both schools, the programmes caused further fragmentation of the curriculum and split the student body, a result many felt undermined school spirit and thereby interest in high school study. Despite the introduction of electives and student choice, interest in academic study, school spirit and achievement levels declined, while daily attendance, dropout and graduation rates remained static. Despite their cultural differences, both Washington high schools revealed disturbing trends reflected in the findings of the National Commission.

The National Commission's recognition that the high school was a site of intersection for all three levels of American government and society offers a useful perspective from which to view the experiences of Garfield and Bellingham High Schools between the late 1950s and the mid-1980s. This takes us beyond the simplistic dichotomies of progressive or conservative educational philosophies, rising or declining standards, to say nothing of white or black as the fundamental social factors although, of course, all of these played their part in a complex pattern of causation.

Firstly, there can be no doubt that federal policy, both educational and social, impacted directly and powerfully upon both Garfield and Bellingham in a way that was utterly unprecedented in the previous history of American education. The importance of public schooling to national security during the Cold War dramatically changed educational

[37] Ravitch, *Left Back*, p. 393.

policy in the United States. The federal government provided the impetus for change through such legislation as the NDEA of 1958, the Federal Manpower Act, the Vocational Education Act and the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Civil Rights Act and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Federal educational policies increased the power of state agencies to intervene in local school administration by requiring states to approve local projects before receipt of federal funds. Innovative programmes, and those for the disadvantaged, handicapped or bilingual student, were most affected by this condition.

These federal initiatives are generally considered to have been 'progressive' or 'liberal' in their intention and scope, passed largely by the Democratic administrations of Kennedy and Johnson, all aspects of the 'Great Society' project. Yet in short order they were followed by the career education policies of the Nixon administration, the back-to-basics movement of the mid-1970s and the call for 'excellence' characteristic of much early 1980s educational commentary, not least, of course, *A Nation at Risk.* These were the federal initiatives of the conservative turn, under Presidents Nixon, Carter (the most conservative Democratic president since Grover Cleveland in the 1880s) and Reagan.[38]

Yet running through these apparently contradictory ideological movements there was in fact a considerable continuity of purpose, evident in such areas as vocational education and economic planning. Between 1969 and 1983, coursework in vocational and occupational training demonstrated the most growth at Bellingham and Garfield High. The vocational and career opportunity programmes received support through federal legislation, including the Vocational Amendment of 1968 and the Comprehensive

[38] See Kirst, *Who Controls Our Schools?.*

Employment Training Act of 1973. Vocational education was targeted towards the new student population, enticing many to complete their high school education whilst developing marketable skills. To this end, the schools' preoccupation with good attendance was rooted in the belief it was vital to a student's future success, both personal and professional.

Nowhere was this continuity so evident as with the issue of desegregation, which demonstrated dramatically the extent to which legislatures, courts and federal administrative agencies could now intervene in local affairs. Desegregation has been a major national policy in education since the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling in 1954. Whatever the balance of moral imperative, constitutional reasoning, political calculation and international reputation that drove the Supreme Court's decision, it was reinforced by Conant's introduction of the principle of meritocracy into the comprehensive high school as a way to open educational opportunities to all young Americans and thereby 'maximize the social talent pool' needed to combat the Soviet threat during the Cold War. As Louis Menand has argued, 'If your chief concern is to close a perceived "technology gap", you can't get hung up on an irrelevance like family income or skin color'.[39] The *Brown* ruling declared racial discrimination in public education as unconstitutional, and that all provisions of federal, state or local laws 'must yield' to the principle.[40] Local school authorities were responsible for enforcing 'with all deliberate speed' the principles outlined by the *Brown* ruling, although district courts could intercede if 'good faith compliance' failed.[41] Initiated and contested at the federal level, the *Brown* decision upended local authority over public schools whether it was shown as directly and

[39] Louis Menand, 'College: The End of the Golden Age', *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 16 (October 18, 2001), p. 46.
[40] *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 349 US 483, p. 754.
[41] *Brown v. Board*, p. 755.

dramatically as by the 101st Airborne at Little Rock in 1956, or as indirectly and peacefully as in Seattle in 1978. For Garfield High School the whole story was paradoxical. For years after *Brown,* the ruling did not apply because Garfield was integrated. It was only after 1962 that the issue became serious, with 1968 and 1969 being years of genuine crisis for the school. Many of the educational problems of the school, however, (the split campus, VRT, magnet school and GAP programmes), were directly related to the School Board's inability or reluctance to fully face up to the implications of national policy. When it did, in 1978, in order to forestall federal action, it was with a plan that, whatever its social desirability in terms of keeping cohorts together, could hardly have been more disruptive institutionally, with everyone kept in perpetual motion.

If federal policy had therefore come to have an immediate and powerful impact upon the school, so did state policies and personnel. District reorganisation, discussed already in some detail, was the most significant and long-running example in a structural and financial sense. Local school districts were offered a 'financial carrot' that was impossible to ignore, particularly given the inequities and inadequacies built into the State of Washington's school financing structure. The vast differences in local property wealth and the dramatic fluctuations in property tax rates made equalisation through state and federal funding an appealing option to local school districts. The steady increase in state and federal revenues received by the Bellingham and Seattle School Districts reveal the extent to which centralisation was achieved.[42]

This institutional framework and the growing proportion of state funding made it easier to impose state educational policies at the local level, as was evident particularly in the

[42] See above pp. 52-53, 191.

case of driver education and the minimum competency programme. Driver education was added to the curriculum at Bellingham High in the mid-1950s at the request of the Bellingham Police Department and the Future Drivers of America 'in the interest of public safety'.[43] Students were required to attend 30 hours of classroom instruction, receive six hours experience 'behind-the-wheel,' and spend 12 hours as an observer in the car under instruction. The power of the state to intercede in local affairs came following the passage of the Driver Education Act of 1963, which required all students under the age of 18 to complete a driver training course before obtaining a license. Students were now required to attend 30 class hours, and gain 50 hours of behind-the-wheel experience.[44] These requirements met AAA standards, and qualified parents for a ten percent reduction in insurance. Once the Bellingham School District was committed to offering driver training, money was soon needed for cars, simulators, garages[45], instructor training[46], replacement cars, and maintenance fees; while finally, in 1965, the school district purchased a three-acre parcel of land to be used as a track complete with 'roads, stops, hills, and intersections'.[47] The simulated course was constructed adjacent to the Bellingham Technical School, approximately two miles from Bellingham High, which

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[43] Bellingham School District, Bellingham School Board Minutes, February 22, 1957.

[44] Students devoted 80 semester class hours to driver training, approximately 5.8 hours a week. In comparison, students attended each of their regular classes for just five hours per week. Most students took driver education in their sophomore year of high school. Until the late 1960s, students were taken out of regular class time and earned no credit, but since it was becoming increasingly 'difficult to take students out of class to participate in behind-the-wheel instruction' driver training became a class offered during regular school hours, with elective credits earned. To give private school students the opportunity to complete the programme, driver training was also offered by the school district after hours, on Saturdays, and during the summer holiday. During a review of the Traffic Safety Education programme in the State of Washington, the findings revealed the length of the programme varied between 48 hours and 90 hours. State of Washington, Legislative Budget Committee, Performance Audit, *Program Review of the Traffic Safety Education Program* (Olympia, 1975).

[45] The cost of construction for a car garage and cyclone fence was paid for by the Future Drivers of America in 1954. Liability insurance was also provided by the FD of A.

[46] In order to teach driver education, Bellingham High School teachers were required to earn nine hours of college credit and pass a state examination.

[47] Bellingham School District, Bellingham School Board Minutes, August 27, 1968.

required more cars to shuttle students across town.[48] For their efforts, the state reimbursed local school districts $30.00 for each student participating in driver education.[49] The Act of 1963 also made it permissible for local districts to begin charging student fees for driver education.[50]

The state legislature subsequently passed the Highway Safety Act in 1966 and the Traffic Safety Education Law in 1969. Both placed a greater demand on school districts to expand their driver training programmes. The force of federal law is also clear in the state Highway Safety Act of 1969, which quoted from it, 'Each State shall have a highway safety program approved by the Secretary, designed to reduce traffic accidents and deaths, injuries, and property damage resulting therefrom'.[51] The 'Governor of the State' was responsible for the administration of the driver training programme.[52] Here the loss of autonomy at the local level was mandated by state and federal legislation and funding. Not surprisingly, participation rates and costs increased dramatically, from the 19,007 students in 1963-64 when the cost of the statewide programme totalled $1,303,345.[53] By the end of the decade, student participation was close to 100 percent, and the annual cost had risen to $2,244,250.[54] It continued to increase until, by 1979, the annual cost was $7,296,103.[55]

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[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Local school districts could also receive additional reimbursement from the state if costs were in excess of the $30.00. Bellingham School District, Bellingham School Board Minutes, April 9, 1963.

[50] In the late 1960s, students paid $10.00 for the class work and $30.00 for behind-the-wheel practice. Bellingham School Board Minutes, April 30, 1968. Due to increased state support the classroom fee was reduced to $5.00. Bellingham School Board Minutes, December 12, 1972.

[51] State of Washington, Public Law 89-564, *Highway Safety Act of 1966*, Section 101, Title 23 of United States Code (Olympia, 1966).

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] State of Washington, *Annual Budget 1963-64* (Olympia, 1964), p. 401.

[54] State of Washington, *Annual Budget 1969-70* (Olympia, 1970), p. 290. A review of the Washington State Patrol Annual Reports reveals the school sponsored driver education programme was not entirely effective. In 1959, five to seven percent of all traffic accidents in the State of Washington involved drivers under the age of 18. This percentage continued to climb throughout the 1960s and by 1975, 13 to 14 percent of all

Overall, the rising costs of education and the decline in test scores prompted the State Department of Education to demand public schools take greater responsibility for student achievement and school performance. School officials responded by developing the Minimum Competencies Assurance Test, designed to identify and assist students who appeared to be having difficulties. The minimum competency pilot programme was initiated in the Seattle School District in 1975, and was required in the Bellingham School District beginning in the 1976-77 school year.[56] School districts received cash bonuses for improved pupil performance and, according to Timar and Kirp, this placed undue pressure on the administration to 'produce results'.[57] As Tyack and Cuban argued, an unintended result of mandatory competency testing 'was inattention to complex thinking skills and to the challenge of fitting the curriculum to the cultural backgrounds of students', those affected most being the minorities and the poor.[58]

If federal legislation and financing, together with state policies and administrative structure severely undermined the traditional patterns of public education in the United States, which had, until the 1960s, been vehemently committed to local control; and if, as Kirst argued, home rule had become by the 1980s 'more illusion than actuality',[59] it still remained true that the educational experience offered by individual schools remained powerfully shaped by local circumstance, particularly the socio-economic character of the

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traffic accidents in the state involved licensed drivers under the age of 18. Washington State Patrol, *Annual Reports,* 1959-75.

[55] State of Washington, *Biennium Report 1981-83* (Olympia, 1983), p. 558.

[56] By the early 1980s, 33 states instituted testing of basic skills as a graduation requirement. Tyack, *Managers of Virtue*, p. 259.

[57] Thomas Timar and David Kirp, *Managing Educational Excellence* (New York, 1988), p. 55.

[58] Tyack and Cuban, *Tinkering Towards Utopia,* p. 62. The validity of standardised tests and the inclination to build a curriculum around state policy and revenue receipts remains a controversial issue in the United States.

[59] Kirst, *Who Controls Our Schools?*, p. 97.

student body and its community. In broad terms the trajectories followed by Bellingham and Garfield from the late 1950s to the early 1980s were remarkably similar: a period of sustained demographic pressure, though for different reasons, a crisis which threatened to close the school, followed by a period of accommodation.

Throughout the 1950s, America's public schools were stirring with the baby boom. What began after the Second World War as an anticipated surge in births, continued to develop into a trend.[60] The demographic bulge entered America's public schools after 1951, as each graduating senior class was replaced by a group of kindergarteners that 'outnumbered it by an average of 1.5 million students and by as many as 2.5 million students' for 12 straight years between 1952 and 1964.[61] This national trend was reflected at Bellingham High, which accommodated 1,148 students in 1952, 1,800 in 1964, with a continuing expansion until the student body grew to its maximum enrolment of 2,014 in 1967. At Garfield, the in-migration of minority families and the continuing presence of housing covenants and racial discrimination caused overcrowding in the Central District, distorting the area's demographic pattern during the post-war period. Hence, in 1939 there had been 2,300 students attending Garfield, and from 1945 until 1967 the student body still fluctuated between 1,500 and 1,700.[62] More significant was the way in which Garfield became steadily 'blacker' as the Central District inexorably became ghettoised in the course of the 1960s.

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[60] In the 1930s, 24 million babies were born in the United States, compared to 32 million in the 1940s. The postwar demographic pattern continued and the nation averaged between 3.9 and 4.3 million births per year from 1952 until 1964.
[61] Jones, *Great Expectations,* p. 50.
[62] To alleviate overcrowding, Garfield became a three-year high school in 1955.

The crises for both schools came at the end of the 1960s. For Garfield it came as the school became the epicentre of the city's civil rights movement, with its proposed closure seen as a way of pacifying both angry whites (removal of the threat to public order) and angry blacks (closure as a way of desegregation by moving black students to white schools).[63] For Bellingham the crisis came with the loss of accreditation and the opening of Sehome High School in the prosperous middle-class, but topographically restricted, southern periphery of the city.

Accommodation to these crises involved declining enrolments for both schools. Whereas Bellingham experienced an out-migration of families due to a lack of employment opportunities, civil strife and school desegregation caused Central District families, particularly white residents, to begin fleeing the inner-city in the late 1960s. As a result of economic stagnation and the opening of Sehome, Bellingham's enrolment dropped steadily throughout the late 1960s and 1970s. In 1969, the school enrolment was 1,400 students, but by 1982 it had declined to 1,185. At Garfield there was a sharp decline in enrolment beginning in 1969 when the student body dropped to 1,090, after which the decline continued until 1972 when the school accommodated just 862 students. After that it steadily increased, reaching 1,245 in 1977, and 1,473 in 1982. Where enrolment at Bellingham followed the expansion and contraction pattern typically associated with the baby boom generation, enrolment at Garfield followed a reverse curve of community mobility.

[63] Garfield's crisis was inextricably linked with the emergence of Black Power and the presence of the Black Panther Party in the Central District, with the radicalisation of a section of the community leadership. This left the school vulnerable not only to conflicts over desegregation with the school district, that is, the city as a whole, but within its own community as well.

The unexpected onslaught of students caught the American public school system unaware. Following the lead of American demographers, school officials regarded the lingering post-war fertility boom as an anomaly and as such hesitated in allocating additional funds for public education. As a result, early baby boomers studied 'in shacks and double shifts and hallways and jerry-built classrooms' where textbooks and educational aids were in short supply.[64] A survey of school expenditures in the United States illustrates a slow increase between 1949 and 1959 followed by a significant expansion. In 1949, 1.8 percent of the gross national product was allocated for public schools, with a total expenditure of $4.7 billion. In 1959, the figure had increased to just 2.5 percent of the gross national product or $12.3 billion.[65] While this represents an increase of 39 percent, school officials still struggled to stay abreast of student demands in the 1950s.

The rapid expansion and diversification of the student population brought profound changes to both Bellingham and Garfield, as it did to all American high schools in the 1960s. The new student body prompted Bellingham and Garfield to adopt varied perspectives in curriculum content and teaching styles. To meet the needs of each student, both Washington high schools introduced individualised study programmes. This change triggered the disappearance of textbooks and literature in the classroom, and added 'relevance' to the high school curriculum. School officials also seized upon kinetic and emotive modes of teaching, including teaching machines, educational television, games, kits, films and field trips, feeling these were the most effective ways of teaching the new student population. Individualised study was indeed an innovative way of educating a

[64] 'Underdog Profession', *Life Magazine*, Vol. 44, No. 13 (March 31, 1958), p. 94.
[65] Kirst, *Who Controls Our Schools?*, p. 106.

diverse student population, even though the flexibility of the programme was achieved at the cost of systematic study.

Multicultural demands and a broad shift in authority during the 1960s and 1970s brought democratic processes to the high school classroom, dramatically changing the relationship between teacher and student. Developing a curriculum that emphasised discovery, enquiry and relevance, in turn affected the teaching methods utilised at Bellingham and Garfield High. Beginning in the 1960s, a discussion-based style of teaching was encouraged at Bellingham and Garfield, creating an unstructured classroom environment. In conjunction with the individualised study programme, and in the absence of a course syllabus, the high school classroom became informal, with increased amounts of unscheduled time. The casual classroom hindered the progress of learning and encouraged a plethora of distractions that became all consuming, particularly at Bellingham High. This relaxed atmosphere even added an element of entertainment to teaching. By the late 1970s, teachers and students often acted as peers, further undermining the authority of the teachers and their effectiveness in the classroom. Even the rationale of meritocracy was absorbed by multiculturalism for, as Menand argued, the 'cultural differences were not only not so easy to ignore as men like Conant had imagined; those differences suddenly began to seem a lot more interesting than the similarities'.[66] By attempting to cater to an increasingly diverse student population, the Washington high schools became imbued with an anti-intellectual spirit. And, with typically 1,500 to 1,600 students, the sheer size of the student body made it even more difficult to keep order in the schools.

[66] Menand, 'College: The End of the Golden Age', p. 46.

What is striking here is that very similar programmes and curricula emerged at Bellingham in response to its crisis, as had at Garfield in response to the crisis of race. The placing of Sehome in the middle class suburbs of the city had been opposed on the grounds that Bellingham would inevitably become the 'poor' school. This, in fact, is precisely what happened over the following decade. The process was intensified by the economic recession, which acted as a disincentive to learning for more and more students who were expected to 'land in low-paying, part-time service sector jobs which require[d] only modest skills and offer[ed] almost no meaningful opportunities for promotion or advancement'.[67] A further difficulty lay in changing the school curriculum fast enough to meet the nation's employment needs. For example, throughout the 1970s, students at Bellingham attended vocational classes in stenography, needlecraft and sewing, farm work, commercial fishing and gas station attendant, skills that were largely obsolete in the contemporary market economy.

Despite the growth in vocational classes, the recession paradoxically pushed an increasing number of students out of school early and into work. Many educators were in favour of students entering the job market whilst in high school, arguing that it allowed young Americans an earlier opportunity to develop good work habits and useful skills. To assist students in finding suitable jobs, the work-experience programmes at Bellingham and Garfield operated job placement centres and hired additional counselling staff. By permitting late arrivals and early dismissals, and further shifting the school day to an earlier start time, the impact of the work-experience programme went beyond the working student. Bellingham and Garfield also lowered expectations, adjusted teaching methods

[67] Sedlak, *et al., Selling Students Short,* p. 23. According to Sedlak, with the rewards of receiving a high school diploma in question, the 'only real threat is what happens if one drops out'. *Ibid.*

and reduced homework to accommodate student employment.[68] Whatever the value of the work-experience itself, it had a negative effect on student attitudes toward academic achievement and truancy. Hence, the learn-to-work campaign backfired on school administrators as employment responsibilities added to the pervasive sense of student disengagement. By 1983, students at Bellingham and Garfield were clearly less committed to academic and extra curricular activity, were more visibly disruptive and spent more time at work and watching television.[69] The parallel institutional experiences of Bellingham and Garfield, therefore, suggest that class was the most important factor shaping the educational experience during the 1960s and 1970s. At the time this was picked up by few educational commentators, among them Theodore Sizer, who (after learning parental income) prided himself on being able to describe to the principals themselves, the character of their own schools.[70]

In response to student diversification, non-academic objectives came to dominate the school programme at Bellingham and Garfield High, regardless of a student's future plans. One might say that the effort to engage and educate the new student population marked the return of Life Adjustment education in the American high school, with the difference that now the students tracked themselves. The very means and goals of comprehensive

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[68] See also Charles Berryman and Donald O. Schneider, 'Patterns of Work Experience Among High School Students: Educational Implications', *The High School Journal* (April/May 1983); Linda M. McNeil, 'Lowering Expectations: The Impact of Student Employment in Classroom Knowledge', *Wisconsin Center for Education* (February 1984). These studies show that in order to accommodate working students, course content was often simplified, reduced to lists for recall and feedback, worksheets, field trips, films or delivered through lectures.

[69] For the national picture, see Michael Sedlak, *et al., Selling Students Short*, Ernest L. Boyer, *High School*, Theodore R. Sizer, *Horace's Compromise*, Philip Cusick, *The Egalitarian Ideal*, and John Goodlad, *A Place Called School.*

[70] See Sizer, *Horace's Compromise*, James S. Coleman, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C., 1966), Christopher Jencks, *Inequality; a reassessment of the effect of family and schooling in America* (New York, 1972), Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America; education reform and the contradictions of economic life* (New York, 1976).

secondary education perhaps defeated its ends. The early warning signs of this prompted Theodore Volsky and Willis Dugan to write in 1960, 'We cannot help but wonder if Conant's program would produce Conant's goals. He seeks the creative, inventive, dedicated person and there is little evidence that this type of person has ever been a product of mass programs of prescription or conscription. The technician and the professionally trained person are such products'.[71] Perhaps the decline in academics at Bellingham and Garfield would have been impossible to avoid, given national policy, state administration and the nature of the local community and its problems. From the late 1950s to the early 1980s, Conant and the National Commission notwithstanding, Bellingham and Garfield did what the American high school has always done: prepare students for life, and essentially, life in their own communities.

[71] Theodore Volsky Jr. and Willis E. Dugan in Roy G. Francis and Robert H. Beck, eds., *Perspectives on the Conant Report* (Duluth, 1960), p. 50.

Appendix 1

Conant's 21 Recommendations	A Nation at Risk: Recommendations
Recommendation 3: Required Programme for All The requirements for graduation for all students should be as follows: 4 years of English; 3-4 years of social studies – including 2 years of history and a senior course in American problems or American government; one year of mathematics; at least one year of science.	**Recommendation A:** Content: Introduction: We recommend that State and local high school graduation requirements be strengthened and that, at a minimum, all students seeking a diploma be required to lay the foundations in the Five New Basics by taking the following curriculum during their 4 years of high school: (a) 4 years of English; (b) 3 years of mathematics; (c) 3 years of science; (d) 3 years of social studies; and (e) one-half year of computer science. For the college-bound, 2 years of foreign language in high school are strongly recommended in addition to those taken earlier.
Recommendation 6: English Composition The time devoted to English composition during the four years should occupy about half the total time devoted to the study of English. Each student should be required to write an average of one theme a week.	1. The teaching of English in high school should equip graduates to: (a) comprehend, interpret, evaluate, and use what they read; (b) write well-organized, effective papers; (c) listen effectively and discuss ideas intelligently; and (d) know our literary heritage and how it enhances imagination and ethical understanding, and how it relates to the customs, ideas, and values of today's life and culture. 2. The teaching of mathematics in high school should equip graduates to; (a) understand geometric and algebraic concepts; (b) understand elementary probabilities and statistics; (c) apply mathematics in everyday situations; and (d) estimate, approximate, measure, and test the accuracy of their calculations. In addition to the traditional sequence of studies available for college-bound students, new, equally demanding mathematics curricula need to be developed for those who do not plan to continue their formal education immediately.
Recommendation 19: Science Courses All students should obtain some understanding of the nature of science and the scientific approach by a required course in physical science or biology. To accommodate students who are interested in	3. The teaching of science in high school should provide graduates with an introduction to: (a) the concepts, laws, and processes of the physical and biological sciences; (b) the methods of scientific

science but do not have the required mathematical ability, two types of chemistry courses should be offered . . . In addition to the physics course given in the twelfth grade with mathematics as a prerequisite another course in physics should be offered with some such designation as 'practical physics'.

Recommendation 21:Twelfth-Grade Social Studies

In the twelfth grade a course on American problems or American government should be required. This course should include as much material on economics as the students can effectively handle at this point in their development . . . This course should develop not only an understanding of the American form of government and of the economic basis of our free society, but also mutual respect and understanding between different types of students. Current topics should be included; free discussion of controversial issues should be encouraged. This approach is one significant way in which our schools distinguish themselves from those in totalitarian nations.

Recommendation 18: Foreign Languages

The school board should be ready to offer a third and fourth year of a foreign language, no matter how few students enroll . . . The main purpose of studying a foreign language is to obtain mastery of that language. And by a mastery is surely meant the ability to read the literature published in the language and, in the case of a modern language, to converse with considerable fluency with an inhabitant of the country in question . . . By reading the literature of another culture, one understands not only something of the culture, but realizes that ideas which English-speaking people accept as a matter of course may never have been formulated in a comparable way in another language and vice-versa . . . a student who enters college with a considerable degree of mastery of one foreign language is able to pick up a second much more rapidly than he could otherwise. For example, one finds people in United States missions overseas who have difficultly learning the language.

inquiry and reasoning; (c) the application of scientific knowledge to everyday life; and (d) the social and environmental implications of scientific and technological development. Science courses must be revised and updated for both the college-bound and those not intending to go to college.

4. The teaching of social studies in high school should be designed to: (a) enable students to fix their places and possibilities within the larger social and cultural structure; (b) understand the broad sweep of both ancient and contemporary ideas that have shaped our world; and (c) understand the fundamentals of how our economic system works and how our political system functions; and (d) grasp the difference between free and repressive societies. An understanding of each of these areas is requisite to the informed and committed exercise of citizenship in our free society.

5. The teaching of computer science in high school should equip graduates to: (a) understand the computer as an information, computation, and communication device; (b) use the computer in the study of the other Basics and for personal and work-related purposes; and (c) understand the world of computers, electronics, and related technologies.

6. Achieving proficiency in a foreign language ordinarily requires from 4 to 6 years of study and should, therefore, be started in the elementary grades. We believe it is desirable that students achieve proficiency in a foreign language. Study of a foreign language introduces students to non-English-speaking cultures, heightens awareness and comprehension of one's native tongue, and serves the Nation's needs in commerce, diplomacy, defence, and education.

Recommendation 7: Diversified Programmes for the Development of Marketable Skills

Programmes should be available for girls interested in developing skills in typing, stenography, the use of clerical machines, home economics, or a specialised branch of home economics which through further work in college might lead to the profession of dietitian. Distributive [retail] education should be available . . . For boys, depending on the community, trade and industrial programs should be available.

Recommendation 5: A supplement to a high school diploma

In addition to the diploma, each student should be given a durable record of the courses studied in four years and the grades obtained. The existence of such a record should be well publicised so that employers ask for it rather than merely relying on a diploma when questioning an applicant for a job about his education. [This is a course transcript which gives evidence of a student's achievement]

Recommendation 10: Highly Gifted Pupils

For the highly gifted pupils some type of special arrangement should be made . . . the Advanced Placement Program . . . has been developed in recent years by schools and colleges working cooperatively under the aegis of the College Entrance Examination Board. Under the programme a student in the twelfth grade may take such courses as college mathematics, college English, or college history. This programme should be adopted not only because of the benefits which accrue to the students involved, but because it may well have a good influence on students of somewhat less ability by raising the tone of the whole academic programme.

7. The high school curriculum should also provide students with programmes requiring rigorous effort in subjects that advance students' personal, educational, and occupational goals, such as the fine and performing arts and vocational education.

Recommendation B: Standards and Expectations

1. Grades should be indicators of academic achievement so they can be relied on as evidence of a student's readiness for further study.

2. Four-year colleges and universities should raise their admissions requirements and advise all potential applicants of the standards for admission in terms of specific courses required, performance in these areas, and levels of achievement on standardised achievement tests in each of the Five Basics and, where applicable, foreign languages.

3. Standardised tests of achievement (not to be confused with aptitude tests) should be administered at major transition points from one level of schooling to another and particularly from high school to college or work. The purposes of these tests would be to: (a) certify the student's credentials; (b) identify the need for remedial intervention; and (c) identify the opportunity for advanced or accelerated work. The tests should be administered as part of a nationwide (but not Federal) system of State and local standardised tests. This system should include other diagnostic procedures that assist teachers and students to evaluate student progress.

4. Textbooks and other tools of learning and teaching should be upgraded and updated to assure more rigorous content. We call upon university scientists, scholars, and members of professional societies, in collaboration with master teachers, to help in this task, as they did in the post-Sputnik era. They should assist willing publishers in

developing the products or publish their own alternatives where there are persistent inadequacies.

5. In considering textbooks for adoption, States and schools districts should: (a) evaluate texts and other materials on their ability to present rigorous and challenging material clearly; and (b) require publishers to furnish evaluation data on the material's effectiveness.

6. Because no textbook in any subject can be geared to the needs of all students, funds should be made available to support text development in 'thin-market' areas, such as those for disadvantaged students, the learning disabled, and the gifted and talented.

7. To assure quality, all publishers should furnish evidence of the quality and appropriateness of textbooks, based on results from field trials and credible evaluations.

8. New instructional materials should reflect the most current applications of technology in appropriate curriculum areas, the best scholarship in each discipline, and research in learning and teaching.

Recommendation 9: The Programmes of the Academically Talented

A policy in regard to the elective programmes of academically talented boys and girls should be adopted . . . the following should be strongly recommended . . . Four years of mathematics, four years of one foreign language, three years of science, in addition to the required four years of English and three years of social studies; a total of eighteen courses with homework to be taken in four years. This programme will require at least 15 hours of homework each week.

Recommendation C: Time

1. Students in high schools should be assigned more homework than is now the case.

2. Instruction in effective study and work skills, which are essential if school and independent time is to be used efficiently, should be introduced in the early grades and continued throughout the student's schooling.

Recommendation 12: Organisation of the School Day

The school day should be so organised that there are at least six periods in addition to the required physical education and driver education which in many states occupy at least a period each day. A seven or eight period day may be organised with

3. School districts and State legislatures should strongly consider 7-hour school day, as well as a 200 to 220-day school year.

seven or eight period day may be organised with periods as short as 45 minutes.

Recommendation 8: Special Consideration for the very slow readers

Those in the ninth grade of the school who read at a level of the sixth grade or below should be given special consideration . . . developmental reading program and programmes for the academically talented should be adopted by each school.

4. The time available for learning should be expanded through better classroom management and organisation of the school day. If necessary, additional time should be found to meet the special needs of slow learners, the gifted, and others who need more instructional diversity than can be accommodated during a conventional school day or school year.

Recommendation 13: Prerequisites for Advanced Academic courses

Standards in advanced courses should be such that those who enroll in each successive course of a sequence have demonstrated the ability required to handle the course.

5. The burden on teachers for maintaining discipline should be reduced through the development of firm and fair codes of student conduct that are enforced consistently, and by considering alternative classrooms, programmes and schools to meet the needs of continually disruptive students.

6. Attendance policies with clear incentives and sanctions should be used to reduce the amount of time lost through student absenteeism and tardiness.

7. Administrative burdens on the teacher and related intrusions into the school day should be reduced to add time for teaching and learning.

Recommendation 4: Ability Grouping

In the required subjects and those elected by students with a wide range of ability, the students should be grouped according to ability, subject by subject.

8. Placement and grouping of students, as well as promotion and graduation policies, should be guided by the academic progress of students and their instructional needs, rather than by rigid adherence to age.

Recommendation D: Teaching

1. Persons preparing to teach should be required to meet high educational standards, to demonstrate an aptitude for teaching, and to demonstrate competence in an academic discipline. Colleges and universities offering teacher preparation programmes should be judged by how well their graduates meet these criteria.

2. Salaries for the teaching profession should be increased and should be professionally competitive, market-sensitive and performance-based. Salary, promotion, tenure and retention decisions should be tied to an effective evaluation system that includes peer review so that superior teachers can be rewarded, average ones encouraged, and poor ones either improved or terminated.

3. School boards should adopt an 11-month contract for teachers. This would ensure time for curriculum and professional development, programmes for students with special needs, and a more adequate level of teacher compensation. [Teacher contracts are presently nine months in length]

4. School boards, administrators, and teachers should cooperate to develop career ladders for teachers that distinguish among the beginning instructor, the experienced teacher, and the master teacher.

5. Substantial non-school personnel resources should be employed to help solve the immediate problem of the shortage of mathematics and science teachers.

6. Incentives, such as grants and loans, should be made available to attract outstanding students to the teaching profession, particularly in those areas of critical shortage.

7. Master teachers should be involved in designing teacher preparation programmes and in supervising teachers during their probationary years.

Recommendation 2: Individualised Programmes

It should be the policy of the school that every student has an individualised programme; there would be no classification of students according to clearly defined and labeled programmes or tracks such as 'college-preparatory,' 'vocational,' 'commercial'.

Recommendation 1: The Counselling System

In a satisfactory school system the counselling should start in the elementary school, and there should be good articulation between the counseling in the junior and senior high schools if the pattern is 6-3-3 or between the counselling in the elementary school and the high school if the system is organised on an 8-4 basis.

Recommendation 11: Academic Inventory

In order to provide meaningful statistics about the education of the academically talented, a school board through the superintendent should ask the principal each year to provide an academic inventory . . . The academic inventory should include information as to what per cent of the academically talented boys and girls went on to a two-year college, a four-year college, or a university.

Recommendation 14: Students should not be given a rank in class according to their grades in all subjects

In many schools, it is customary to designate a rank in class on graduation as determined by the marks received; the position of valedictorian is usually held by the student whose rank is number one. The ranking is calculated by averaging the grades in all subjects taken during the four years. I have found that in many schools the desire to rank high has led bright students to elect easy courses in order to obtain high grades.

Recommendation 15: Academic Honors List

At the end of each marking period, a list should be published of the students who had elected courses recommended for the academically talented and had made an average grade of B.

Recommendation 17: Summer School

The school board should operate a tuition-free summer school in which courses are available not only for students who have to repeat a subject, but also for the bright and ambitious students who wish to use the summer to broaden the scope of their elective programmes.

Recommendation 20: Homerooms

For the purpose of developing an understanding between students of different levels of academic ability and vocational goals, homerooms should be organised in such a way as to make them significant social units in the school.

Recommendation E: Leadership and Fiscal Support

1. Principals and superintendents must play a crucial leadership role in developing school and community support for the reforms we propose, and school boards must provide them with the professional development and other support required to carry out their leadership role effectively. The Commission stresses the distinction between leadership skills involving persuasion, setting goals and developing community consensus behind them, and managerial and supervisory skills.

2. State and local officials, including school board members, governors, and legislators, have *the primary responsibility* for financing and governing the schools, and should incorporate the reforms we propose in their educational policies and fiscal planning.

3. The Federal Government, in cooperation with States and localities, should help meet the needs of key groups of students such as the gifted and talented, the socio-economically disadvantaged, minority and language minority students, and the handicapped. In combination these groups include both national resources and the Nation's youth who are most at risk.

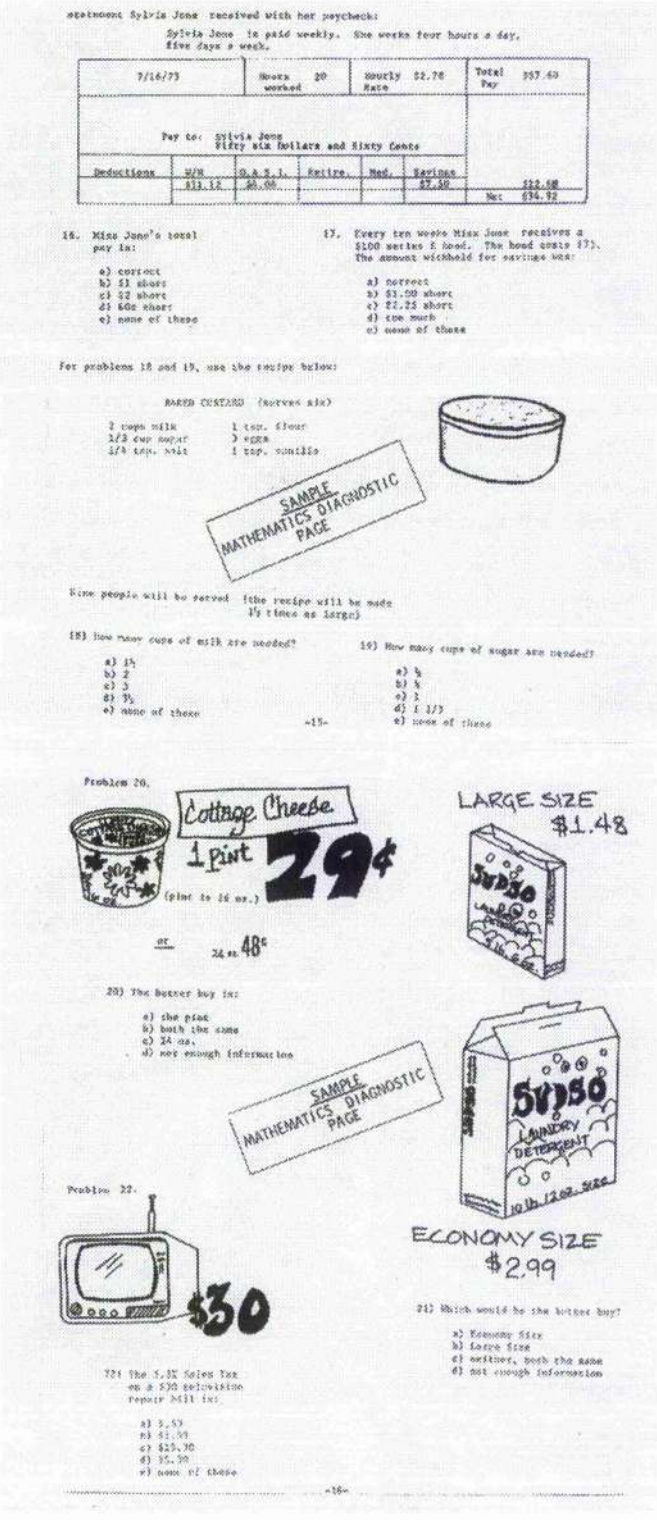
4. In addition, we believe the Federal Government's role includes several functions of national consequence that States and localities alone are unlikely to be able to meet: protecting constitutional and civil rights for students and school personnel; collecting data, statistics, and information about education generally; supporting curriculum improvement and research on teaching, learning, and the management of schools; supporting teacher training in areas of critical shortage or key national needs; and providing

student financial assistance and research and graduate training. We believe the assistance of the Federal Government should be provided with a minimum of administrative burden and intrusiveness.

5. The Federal Government has *the primary responsibility* to identify the national interest in education. It should also help fund and support efforts to protect and promote that interest. It must provide the national leadership to ensure that the Nation's public and private resources are marshaled to address the issues discussed in this report.

6. This Commission calls upon educators, parents, and public officials at all levels to assist in bringing about the educational reform proposed in this report. We also call upon citizens to provide the financial support necessary to accomplish these purposes. Excellence costs. But in the long run mediocrity costs far more.

Appendix 2



statement Sylvia Jone received with her paycheck:

Sylvia Jone is paid weekly. She works four hours a day, five days a week.

7/16/73	Hours worked 20	Hourly Rate $2.70	Total Pay $57.40
Pay to: Sylvia Jone Fifty six Dollars and Sixty Cents			

Deductions	W/H	O.A.S.I.	Retire.	Med.	Savings	
	$13.12	$3.00			$7.50	$23.58
					Net	$34.82

18. Miss Jone's total pay is:

a) correct
b) $1 short
c) $2 short
d) 60¢ short
e) none of these

17. Every ten weeks Miss Jone receives a $100 series E bond. The bond costs $75. The amount withheld for savings was:

a) correct
b) $1.00 short
c) $2.25 short
d) too much
e) none of these

For problems 18 and 19, use the recipe below:

BAKED CUSTARD (serves six)

2 cups milk
1/3 cup sugar
1/4 tsp. salt
1 tsp. flour
3 eggs
1 tsp. vanilla

SAMPLE MATHEMATICS DIAGNOSTIC PAGE

Nine people will be served (the recipe will be made 1½ times as large)

18) How many cups of milk are needed?

a) 1½
b) 2
c) 3
d) 3½
e) none of these

19) How many cups of sugar are needed?

a) ½
b) ½
c) 1
d) 1 1/3
e) none of these

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Problem 20.

Cottage Cheese 1 Pint 29¢ (pint is 16 oz.)

or 24 oz. 48¢

LARGE SIZE $1.48

20) The better buy is:

a) the pint
b) both the same
c) 24 oz.
d) not enough information

SAMPLE MATHEMATICS DIAGNOSTIC PAGE

SUDSO LAUNDRY DETERGENT 10 lb. 12 oz. Size

ECONOMY SIZE $2.99

Problem 22.

$30

22) The 5.5% Sales Tax on a $30 television repair bill is:

a) $.53
b) $1.50
c) $29.70
d) $5.50
e) none of these

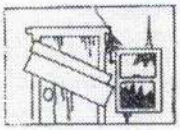
21) Which would be the better buy?

a) Economy Size
b) Large Size
c) neither, both the same
d) not enough information

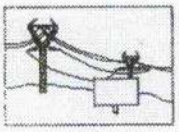
-16-

Minimum Competency Assurance Test – Sample Mathematics Diagnostic Test, Source: Seattle School District, Basic Skills Department, 'A Synopsis and Overview of the Seattle Minimum Competencies Assurance Program' (Seattle, 1975).

2.51 Write the number of the warning sign that matches the picture.

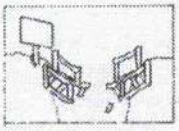


1) Dentist
2) Condemned
3) Entrance
4) Fire escape _____



1) Inflammable
2) Construction zone
3) Drifting sand
4) High voltage _____

1) External use only
2) Pedestrians prohibited
3) No trespassing
4) Unloading zone _____



1) Employees only
2) Poisonous
3) Bridge out
4) Resume speed _____

1) Contaminated
2) Fire extinguisher
3) Combustible
4) Inspection station _____

2.54 It is Sunday night and you need gas in your car before you drive to a friend's house. You know you don't have enough gas to drive around looking for an open gas pump. If you call some gas stations you can find out what is open. Going to the yellow pages you look under:

1) Signs
2) Office equipment
3) Service stations
4) Automobile painting _____

You are walking down the stairs to the basement of your house. Suddenly, you feel something cold and wet creeping into your shoes. Looking down you see the floor covered with water. Running to your yellow pages, you look up someone to fix your water pipes. What heading would you look under?

1) Plumbing
2) Insurance
3) Insulation
4) Fish _____

You are building a fence around your house. You discover that you need more boards of a certain size. To save time you decide to call the store so that the boards will be cut and ready for you when you get there. The heading you look up in the yellow pages is:

1) Building
2) Lawn
3) Lumber
4) Machines _____

You and your family are moving to another state. You have a lot to move and need a large truck. You could call a moving company but you want to save money and do it yourself. What do you look up in order to find a truck?

1) Loans
2) Rental service
3) Mobile homes
4) Travel _____

Minimum Competency Assurance Test – Sample Reading Diagnostic Test, Source: Seattle School District, Basic Skills Department, 'A Synopsis and Overview of the Seattle Minimum Competencies Assurance Program' (Seattle, 1975).

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